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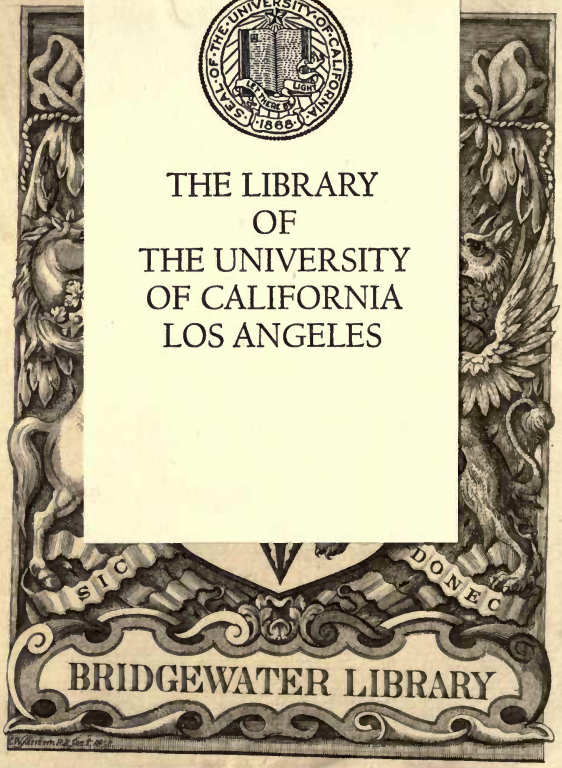

THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

From the Time the

French Monarchy was Eſtabliſh'd in

GAUL,

TO THE

Death of LEWIS the Fourteenth.

Written Originally in FRENCH

By Father *DANIEL*, of the Society of JESUS;

And now Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

In FIVE VOLUMES.

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Lewis XI.

LEWIS XI. received the news of the king his father's death at *Genep*, the same day that it happened. If we may believe the historian of *Flanders*, this prince, how much soever he was practis'd in the art of dissimulation, was not so reserved upon this occasion, but that it was visible he was more delighted with the thoughts of a crown, than concern'd at the loss of a father. He went to *Reims* without further delay to solemnize his coronation, where he was consecrated on the fifteenth of *August*; and soon after made his entry into *Paris*, being then just arrived at the 39th year of his age. Every body was in suspense, and the court especially had their eyes upon all the steps of this new king. From time he was known to be a close, suspicious, and mistrustful, a crafty, covetous revengeful prince; of such a reach of mind and sagacity, as qualified him for concealing his intentions, and shutting up most of the avenues, by which

A. D. 1461.

Monstrelet. vol. 3. fol. 88. Meyer. l. 16.

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A. D. 1461. which the courtiers commonly find means to insinuate themselves into the good graces of a prince.

Gaguin. in Ludov. XI. The duke of *Burgundy*, who had attended him at his consecration, and entry into *Paris*, advised him to forget all that had passed; to consider, that he was no longer dauphin, but king; and that those who had been his greatest enemies then, wou'd now be his fastest friends. *Lewis* received his advice with a very easy and tractable countenance, but he did not follow it: For without waiting for the duke of *Burgundy*'s return to his government, he made a great many alterations at court, and in the parliament, and committed *Anthony de Chabannes*, count of *d'Amartin*, to the *Bastille*, who had six years before been sent by the king into *Dauphiny* to seize him. The duke parted from the king with the greatest marks of friendship on both sides, but neither of them were sincere in their professions. The king went to town, whither he sent for his brother *Charles*, received him courteously, and gave him the dutchy of *Berry* for his appennage. He endeavour'd to gain the reputation of a merciful prince, by pardoning the duke of *Alençon*, then prisoner in the castle of *Loches*, for conspiring with the *English* against the state. But the motive in this affair, was, rather that he might have the pleasure of undoing what his predecessor had done, than to act the politician; and some time after, he heartily repented the grace he had granted this turbulent prince, who was the most dangerous person then in the kingdom.

Chronique scandaleuse.

From that time he form'd a design, which he pursued with constancy and application, to lessen the authority of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britanny*, who were the only great vassals then remaining in *France*, whose power had been always disadvantageous and formidable to our kings. The first step he took in this regard, was, by secretly confirming the alliance which his predecessor had made with the *Liegeois*, who were irreconcileable enemies to the house of *Burgundy*. This alliance he renewed, though but a month or two before he had given the duke his express word to the contrary, and promis'd to assist him against them.

Historien Anonyme contemporain cité par Meyer, l. 16.

As

As for *Francis* II. duke of *Britanny*, he sum- *A. D.* 1461.
mon'd him to come immediately to town, to do him homage; but first dismis'd the count of *Charolois*, son of the duke of *Burgundy*, who was come thither to congratulate him, not thinking it proper for these two princes to meet together. After this he made a pretended pilgrimage of devotion to *S. Saviour's* of *Rhedon*, that he might himself have an insight into the minds and dispositions of the nobility of *Britanny*, where the Duke attended him, and paid him all the honour due from a vassal to a sovereign. Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche, l. 1. c. 34.

He was at that time negotiating a very important affair at *Rome*, concerning the abolition of the pragmatick sanction. *Pius* II. had obtain'd a promise from him, when he was only dauphin, to abolish this act in his kingdom, as soon as he came to the crown; and employed *John Joffredi*, Bishop of *Arras*, to bring about the affair with the king, promising him a cardinal's cap, if he succeeded in the execution of it.

At his instances, the king engaged himself a second time to abrogate the pragmatick sanction, and wrote to the pope concerning it, promising him to break through all the opposition, which he foresaw the parliament and university wou'd make against it. The bishop of *Arras* was order'd to carry this news in person to the pope. At his departure he had given the king hopes of obtaining two things of the court of *Rome*, in return for this important piece of service. The first was, that the pope wou'd withdraw his protection from *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, in favour of the house of *Anjou*'s presentations to the kingdom of *Naples*; and secondly, that he wou'd appoint a legate of the *French* nation, to nominate to benefices, that the money might not go out of the kingdom. Gobelinus, l. 6. Monstrelet, fol. 99.

The bishop received advice in the way, that the pope, being throughly satisfied of the services he had done him at the court of *France*, had not waited for his arrival at *Rome*, to testify his acknowledgments for them, but had already named him cardinal. At which he was so transported, that forgetting the interests of the king, and being wholly wrapp'd up in the thoughts of his own promotion, he deliver'd the act for annulling the pragmatick sanction into the

A. D. 1461. hands of the pope, before he had procured any promise from him with regard to the kingdom of *Naples*, or the nomination of a *French* legate.

They made as publick rejoicings at *Rome*, for the abolition of the pragmatick sanction, as for the obtaining a great victory. And the pope, as a mark of his acknowledgments to the king, blessed a sword on *Christmas* night, which he sent afterwards in a case adorned with precious stones, to be presented him with great ceremony and formality. This was all the advantage the king reaped from it, which gave him no small uneasiness; and he was the more sensible of the imposition, because he valued himself upon being a refined politician. He disgrac'd the cardinal of *Arras*, who, as a farther recompence, had received from the pope the rich bishoprick of *Albi*: But this ambitious prelate, being less satisfied with so noble a present, than offended at being refused the archbishoprick of *Besançon*, which he wou'd have had united to it, return'd to *France* in the heat of his resentment, and found means to recover his former situation in the good graces of the king; and revenged himself of the court of *Rome*, by opposing it upon all occasions in that of *France*.

But notwithstanding the triumph of the *Romans*, the pragmatick sanction was still observed in most respects, and the court of *Rome* never received full satisfaction, according to their wishes upon it, 'till *Francis* I's concordat with *Leo* X.

Tom. 2. des Liberties de l'Eglise Gallicane. Registres du Parlement de ce regne & des Suivans.

The authority which the king had already gain'd in his kingdom, and the tranquility which flourished every where by the submission of the people and nobility, gave him an opportunity to assist his neighbours, whenever he should be disposed to take their interests in hand; to make himself arbiter of their differences; and to recover what had been mortgaged of his dominions under the preceding reign. And this was in reality the whole of his business, during the continuance of this calm.

Margaret of *Anjou*, queen of *England*, had recourse to him in the extremity of misfortune, to which she and her husband were reduced. *Edward* earl of *March*, the first of the house of *York*, had got possession of the crown of *England* after the defeat of *Hen-*

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ry VI. at the bloody battle of *Ferrybridge*, where 30000 men were killed upon the ſpot. By this defeat the *Lancaſtrian* party were ſo broken, that no body durſt appear in their defence, and the king and queen were obliged to fly into *Scotland* for Security. *A. D.* 1461.

The king of *Scotland* having promiſed *Henry* to ſupport him againſt *Edward*, the queen of *England*, whoſe maſculine ſpirit never failed her under the greateſt afflictions, went to *France* to ſollicite for ſuccours. She cou'd obtain but 2000 men, under the command of *Brezé*, who, upon *Henry*'s being a ſecond time defeated, was obliged to return to *France*. Some time after *Henry* was taken and committed Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*. The queen, with her ſon *Edward* prince of *Wales*, who was but an infant, fled a ſecond time to the king, and implored his protection. But ſhe cou'd gain no other aſſiſtance, than a loan of 20000 crowns, and that upon very hard conditions: For ſhe mortgaged the town and caſtle of *Calais* in the name of the king her husband for that ſum. By this treaty, *Calais* was to be ſurrendred into the hands of the king of *France*, a year after *Henry* had recovered the crown, if the 20000 crowns were not returned, and the king was to continue in poſſeſſion of it upon the payment of 40000 crowns more. This was a great ſtroke for the intereſt of *France*, and a maſter-piece of policy in *Lewis* XI. But the execution of it depended upon *Henry*'s getting the better of his enemy, which never happen'd; and if it had, that prince wou'd in all likelihood have conſider'd, whether he ought to pay ſo dear for the protection of *France:* But be that as it will, *Lewis* loſt nothing by this bargain. In the mean time he had other affairs in his head, and both his money and arms were wanted at the *Pyrenees*. *A. D.* 1462. Du Tillet, recueil des Traites.

Navarre, as well as *England*, was infeſted with civil wars, after the death of *Charles* prince of *Viane*, whom it was pretended his Mother-in-Law, *Jane* queen of *Arragon*, had poiſon'd, that ſhe might one day ſee her ſon *Ferdinand* upon the throne. The *Navarrois* and *Catalans*, with the king of *Caſtile*, undertook to revenge his death, and beſieged the queen and her ſon *Ferdinand* in *Gironne*. The king of *Arragon* foreſeeing this conſpiracy, had recourſe to the king of

A. D. 1462. *France*, who took the advantage of his neceſſity, and demanded ſecurity for the expences of the war: Upon which the king of *Arragon* mortgaged *Rouiſſillon* and *Cerdagne* to him for 300000 crowns of gold.

Recueil des Traites par Leonard.

James d'Armagnac, duke of *Nemours*, was order'd to command the *French* ſuccours, and arriv'd very ſeaſonably: For *Gironne* was taken, and the queen of *Arragon* and her ſon had retired to the caſtle, where they were upon the point of being forced, had not the *French* and *Arragon* army delivered them.

After this they came to a parley, and a peace was propoſed between the king of *Caſtille* on one part, and *John* king of *Arragon* and *Navarre* on the other: The king of *France* was umpire, and the treaty was concluded. The king of *France* had afterwards an interview with the king of *Caſtille*, in which neither of them were overmuch ſatisfied; but the king of *France* however, by flattery and preſents, gained the grand maſter of *S. James*, and the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who had the abſolute government of the king of *Caſtille*, which he made conſiderable advantage of afterwards.

A. D. 1463. Philippe de Comines, p. 68.

He returned well ſatisfied with his expedition, in which he had augmented his kingdom with the counties of *Rouiſſillon* and *Cerdagne*, of which the duke *de Nemours* took poſſeſſion in his name: But he had another affair at that time much more at heart, *viz.* to recover thoſe towns in *Picardy*, which had been given up to the duke of *Burgundy* by the treaty of *Arras*, and which, according to the twentieth article of that treaty, were redeemable by the king and his Succeſſors, upon the payment of 40000 crowns of gold. This recompence was but a trifle; and it was with great difficulty that prince conſented to ſuch reſtitutions. Beſides the king was apprehenſive he ſhou'd meet with more oppoſition from the count of *Charolois*, than from the duke of *Burgundy*; but ſuch was his good fortune, and perhaps his management, that the father and ſon were not then very much together.

Monſtrelet, f. 99.

Comines, l. 1. c. 1.

The king, when *Dauphin*, had, during his reſidence in the *Low-Countries*, engaged the lords of the houſe of *Croy* very much in his favour and intereſt, and particularly *John de Croy*; who had a mighty influence over the duke of *Burgundy*, and for this reaſon was mortally

mortally hated by the count of *Charolois*. This lord and his brother *Chimai* he made use of to dispose the duke to hearken to his proposal concerning the redemption of the towns in *Picardy*. Besides, *Croy* had it in his view to procure a retreat for himself and those of his family into *France*, where they possess'd considerable estates, least after the duke's death, the count of *Charolois* shou'd make them feel the effects of his hatred, which they had good reason to expect. *A. D.* 1463.

The duke, who was naturally of an equitable and peaceful disposition, easily suffer'd himself to be perswaded. As soon as he had given his word, the king, who was advanced as far as *Abbeville*, went to *Hedin* to him, where the matter was concluded, the money paid down, and the towns evacuated. Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris, corte, m. f. 133, 134. *where may be seen the duke's receipts.*

The count of *Charolois* was extremely vexed at the success of this negotiation. He did not dissemble his anger, but in a short time made the king sensible of the effects of it, by having a considerable share in the famous war *for the publick good*, which on a sudden disturbed the tranquillity which the kingdom had for some years enjoyed, and obliged the king to put himself upon the defensive, when he was going upon vast designs against his neighbours. I shall now relate the causes and effects of this great adventure.

The principal source of the troubles which then infested *France*, was the project which the king had formed, and from thenceforward began to execute, of lowering the princes and grandees of the State, to bring about his design of subjugating the two great Vassals of the crown, who only were able to balance his power, I mean, the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britanny*.

The alterations he made at his coming to the crown at court, in the army, in the gown, and in his council, astonish'd all those who had possessed the prime offices of state in the foregoing reign: But the business was transacted in so sudden a manner, and with so much authority, that no body durst make the least motion against it.

The count of *Dunois*, to whom the government was greatly obliged, found himself on a sudden without any consideration or employment at court; the chancellor *des Ursins*, and the admiral *de Bueil* with-

A. D. 1463. out rank, commission, or pension; and *Chabannes*, count of *d'Amartin*, confined in the *Bastille*. *John* duke of *Bourbon*, had been deprived of his government of *Guyenne*. The other princes of the blood were excluded the council as well as he, and met with no better encouragement at court. *Charles* of *Anjou*, count of *Maine*, a good prince, of whom he had no suspicion, was the only person that seemed to continue in the good graces of the king: But *John* duke of *Calabria*, his nephew, being forced, after the loss of a battle, to abandon his design upon the kingdom of *Naples*, and return to *France*, was extremely discontented to see himself entirely deserted by the king.

The house of *Orleans* had yet far greater reason for resentment: Because the king did not only not interest himself in their favour for the recovery of the dutchy of *Milan*, to which they had a manifest right; but also declared himself protector of *Francis Sforzius*, whose family had usurped this government, and gave him *Savona*, where till then the *French* had kept a garrison.

The king's greatest favourite at that time was *John de la Balue*, nominated bishop of *Evreux*, a miller's, or according to others, a shoe-maker's son at *Verdun*. He arrived at the dignity of a cardinal; and was afterwards as famous for his fall, as he had been before for his advancement. He was a man of a like disposition with his master, crafty, and full of dissimulation, who always disguised his designs, and stuck at no fraud or deceit to accomplish them.

It was a difficult matter to surprize so discerning and mistrustful a prince and minister; and no less dangerous to be taken in a crime by them: For *Lewis* XI. did not much value himself upon clemency, when his authority was the matter in question. Notwithstanding all this, a conspiracy was formed between a great number of persons, and carried on with such secrecy, that after it had been in hand for four years, it was not discovered till it was upon the point of breaking out, and when it was too late to prevent it.

Olivier de la Marche, l. 1. c. 35.

The king who was very sensible and apprehensive of the dangerous disposition of the count of *Charolois*, son of the duke of *Burgundy*, being informed of his con-

concluding a private treaty with the duke of *Britanny*, thought himſelf authorized to puniſh him for breach of duty as a vaſſal, and reſolved to ſeize him in the very midſt of his father's dukedom. The means he made uſe of for this purpoſe, proved unſucceſsful, and ſerved only to produce a declaration of war. *A. D.* 1463.

An. 1464. He gave the baſtard *de Rubempré* a commiſſion to execute this deſign, who was himſelf of a reſolute bold ſpirit, and with forty or fifty ſtout men, marched into *Holland*, where the count then reſided: But this prince having advice of his coming, as well as a previous miſtruſt of it, took him in perſon, and impriſon'd him. *A. D.* 1464.

The count of *Charolois* ſent his father the duke of *Burgundy*, then at *Hedin*, an account of what had paſſed: Upon which that prince becoming ſuſpicious of the king, who was then poſted with a large body of forces very near *Hedin*, departed abruptly to ſecure his Perſon.

The taking of *Rubempré*, and the remarks of the world upon it, were very diſagreeable to the king, who reſolved to complain firſt, and ſent *Charles d'Artois*, count of *Eu*, the chancellor of *Morvilliers*, and *Anthony du Bec Creſpin*, archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, upon an embaſſy to the duke of *Burgundy* in the month of *November*.

The chancellor at his audience made heavy complaints againſt the count of *Charolois*, for taking the baſtard *de Rubempré*, and ſeveral other articles. The duke anſwer'd with a great deal of moderation and courage. And the chancellor, who had orders to ſooth the duke of *Burgundy* with ſoft and mollifying language, in caſe he cou'd not work upon his apprehenſions, aſſured him of the king's good intentions of living in amity with him. However, he receiv'd none but general anſwers to all his complaints; but the count of *Charolois*, at the laſt viſit he received from the ambaſſadors, whiſper'd theſe words in the archbiſhop of *Narbonne*'s ear; *Recommend me moſt humbly to the good graces of the king, and tell him that he has reprimanded me ſeverely here by his chancellor; but before the year's out he ſhall repent it.* Monſtrelet. Olivier de la Marche, &c. Comines, l. 1.

By this we ſee the count of *Charolois* was not the moſt prudent prince of his time; for there was no occaſion

A. D. 1464. occasion to give the king any farther ground of suspicion, who at that time had indeed a very great mistrust of the dukes of *Britanny* and *Bourbon*.

These two dukes, with the count of *Charolois*, were truly at the head of the undertaking: But the better to impose upon the people, and make the pretence of the publick good, with which they covered over their revolt, the more plausible, they thought it proper to place a prince of the royal family at their head.

This prince was *Charles* duke of *Berry*, the king's brother, a youth of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, whom they engaged with the hopes of a more considerable and rich appennage, than what he was then in possession of. He knew well that the king his brother had no great inclinations towards him, and that he wou'd always keep him in a low condition: So he suffer'd himself to be persuaded, and dissembled admirably well, 'till the time came that he was to declare himself.

This happen'd at *Poictiers*, where the embassadors of *Britanny* had arriv'd, under colour of giving the king satisfaction upon some complaints against the duke of *Britanny*. The king dismissed the embassadors with great demonstrations of kindness, because they had assur'd him of the perfect submission of their master: But he was greatly surpriz'd, when he receiv'd an account, within two days after, that the duke of *Berry* was fled, and had join'd the embassadors of *Britanny*, who had waited for him six leagues off that place with fresh horses, and that they were gone post together to *Britanny*.

d'Argentre Comines, Gaguin.

The count of *Dunois*, with the mareschal *de Loheac*, and some other lords, were already arrived there. At the same time came an express, that the duke of *Bourbon* had set up the Standard of revolt in *Bourbonnois*, and was raising an army there, to which the nobility resorted from all parts. Besides the admirable management in keeping the matter secret, there were several other remarkable particulars in this conspiracy.

Olivier de la Marche, l. 1. c. 35.

As, First, That in spight of the king's vigilance and mistrust, which render'd him attentive upon all occasions, the rendezvous of the faction was sometimes held in the very church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*; and which is more, that the agents of the heads of the party

party received the engagements of a great number of the nobility in writing there. The mark by which they were to diſtinguiſh each other, was a little tag of ſilk upon their ſwaſh, which no body but themſelves wou'd obſerve. *A. D.* 1464.

Secondly, That the forces which the king had levied with an intent to fall ſuddenly upon *Britanny* and cruſh the duke, of whom he was more apprehenſive, than of the reſt, were for the moſt part raiſed by lords and gentlemen of the faction; and that inſtead of being brought to the king, they were carried to the camp of the conſpiring princes.

Thirdly, That the count of *Charolois* having perſuaded his father the duke of *Burgundy*, that it was proper for him to raiſe a force for the ſecurity of his dukedom, by reaſon of a great army the king was drawing together, obtain'd his permiſſion for levying Troops, without acquainting him with the conſpiracy; but as ſoon as matters were ripe, he waited upon him, and ſhew'd him the treaties he had made with the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, *Bourbon*, *Alençon*, and *Calabria*, with the counts of *Armagnac* and *Dunois*, and with ſeveral other lords: And the duke ſeeing the party ſo well ſupported, made no oppoſition, but gave his conſent to that which he wou'd without doubt have prevented, if the ſecret had been ſooner diſcovered to him. Ibid. Proces du Duc d'Alencon.

The count of *Charolois* being diſmiſſed with full liberty to act, the forces, which only waited his orders, entred immediately upon their march. He had, beſides infantry, about 10000 horſe in his army. Olivier de la Marche, Comines.

When the King received the news of the duke of *Bourbon*'s revolt, of the count of *Charolois*'s preparations, and of thoſe which were made in *Burgundy* by the mareſchal of the country; and that the ſeditious marched from all parts under the colours of their leaders, he was ſtrangely uneaſy and perplexed. However, he made the beſt proviſion he was able in ſo ſudden a revolution. The ſecuring *Paris* was his chief concern: And upon that account he ſent *Charles de Melun*, and *John de la Balue*, biſhop of *Evreux*, thither, who perſuaded the *Pariſians* to do their duty. Some of the *Gates* they wall'd up, or chain'd up, and the guard was kept as exactly as if they had been under Chronique Scandaleuſe.

A. D. 1464. der a ſiege: But this did not prevent *Chabannes* from making his eſcape out of the *Baſtillie*. He was a dangerous enemy, by reaſon of his experience and conduct in war, and the animoſity he had conceived againſt the king. He was no ſooner out of priſon than he made himſelf talk'd of. For in going to join the duke of *Bourbon*, he ſurpriz'd *S. Fargeau* and *S. Maurice*.

The king ſent an army into *Picardy* and *Normandy*, under the command of ſome perſons of approved fidelity, left a body of troops in *Poitou* and *Anjou*; and being informed that the duke of *Britanny* could not yet take the field, he marched at the head of 80000 men into *Berry*, with deſign to attack the duke of *Bourbon*. He advanced to *Bourges*, a town which had already declared for the princes, but durſt not aſſault it, for fear of a large garriſon that was kept there under the command of the Baſtard of *Bourbon*.

Comines c. 2.

Moſt of the towns in *Bourbonnois*, being not very ſtrong, ſurrendred at the approach of the royal army: And the duke of *Bourbon* not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Moulins*, repair'd to *Riom* with the duke *de Nemours*, the count of *Armagnac*, *Alain d'Albret*, and almoſt all the principal perſons of the faction then in that country. The king ſeeing them thus all aſſembled together, went to lay ſiege to them, and attack'd them briskly. There had been an end of the league in thoſe quarters, if he had been able to force them; which he wou'd have effected, if the news he received from *Picardy*, and the march of the count of *Charolois* wou'd have given him time to bring it about.

This diverſion obliged him to hearken to the propoſals he had rejected, when they were offer'd him a ſecond time by *Charlot* of *Bourbon*, his Siſter, and the duke's Wife. The accommodation was granted upon condition that the duke and the reſt ſhou'd lay down their arms, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the rebel princes to a peace.

Comines loco cit.

Chronique Scandaleuſe.

Though the king did not much depend upon this forced reconciliation, yet he improved it to the beſt advantage, and ſent immediate advice of it to the *Pariſians* for their encouragement; aſſuring them, that he wou'd be with them out of hand, to defend their city, and drive away the enemy from it. And accordingly

ly he march'd in all haſte to *Paris*, which was under great apprehenſions and uneaſineſs at the count of *Charolois*'s approach. *A. D.* 1464.

This count advanced as far as *Picardy*, ſeiz'd *Roye* and *Mondidier*, and afterwards made himſelf maſter of *Pont S. Maxence*, a paſs over the river *Oiſe*, which was delivered him by the general for a ſum of money. He took poſſeſſion of ſeveral little towns; and at length ſeized *Lagni* upon the *Marne*. It was here, that they began to make uſe of the pretended motive of the war, and of the union of the princes for the publick good, and the reformation of the ſtate. He order'd the entry of the cuſtoms to be publickly burnt, the magazines of ſalt to be open'd, and the ſalt to be ſold for the ſame price it coſt the officers, appointed by the king to reſerve it in the magazines. Gaguin.

The count of *Charolois* had agreed with the duke of *Britanny*, that both of them ſhould repair with their armies to *S. Denis* in the month of *July*, with a deſign to attempt the conqueſt of *Paris*, either by force or treachery. This was the main ſtroke for the confederacy. But the duke cou'd not be ſo ſoon ready, which was a great diſappointment to the count of *Charolois*; who foreſaw, that his reputation and affairs wou'd be ruined by lying ſtill at the beginning of ſuch an enterprize as this. In the mean time to keep his forces in exerciſe, he ſtorm'd the barrier of the gate of *S. Denis*, not ſo much in hopes of ſucceeding, as to make himſelf talk'd of. The aſſault was well ſuſtain'd, and the mareſchal *de Gamache*, who governed at *Paris*, coming up with his company of *Gendarmes*, the *Burgundians* were repell'd with loſs, and great numbers of them killed by the artillery from the ramparts. *Chronique ſcandaleuſe.*

The count receiving the news of the duke of *Britanny*'s advancing thro' *la Beauſſe*, reſolved to go to meet him. To paſs the *Seine* he attack'd the bridge of *S. Clou*, and after ſeveral aſſaults forced it; and advancing as far as *Montleri*, pitch'd his camp there. The governor of the caſtle was ſummon'd to ſurrender, but refus'd, and the count durſt not attack him.

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A. D. 1464. As these things were transacting, the king arrived at *Orleans* with his army; from whence, he immediately set forward with a design, not to fall upon the count of *Charolois*, but to reach *Paris*. *Brezé*, seneschal of *Normandy*, had given his opinion in the council, for offering battle to the count, before he join'd the duke of *Britanny*, which he still insisted upon; and as he had the command of the van-guard of the army which march'd all night, he either deceived or prevailed upon the guides; so that in spight of the king's resolution to avoid the count of *Charolois*, they came early in the morning in sight of *Montleri* and the count of *S. Pol*, who was posted in that place with a party of the *Burgundian* forces.

Comines.

A. D. 1465. Olivier de la Marche. Gaguin. The count of *Charolois* came up with the rest at seven a clock the same morning, being the sixteenth of *July*. They had not been long in sight of each other, before they engaged: The king charged the left wing of the *Burgundians* briskly, and put them to the rout, but however was not able to break entirely the count of *S. Pol*, who, with his artillery, very much injured the *French* cavalry; and the king himself was in eminent danger.

Chronique scandaleuse.

On the other hand, the count of *Charolois* had the same advantage over the left wing of the royal army, and drove them a great way before him: But as he returned from the pursuit, secure of the victory, he had like to have been killed by a foot soldier of the *French* army, who made a thrust at him with his sword; but the goodness of his armour protected him. He run a new risk in going a foot to the castle of *Montleri*, where the archers of the *Garde du Roy* had rallied. He found himself invested, and was wounded in the neck, and wou'd certainly have been killed or taken prisoner, if *Robert Cotereau*, his physician's son, had not valiantly drove off the enemy, and given him an opportunity to retire. From this time the family of the *Cotereau*'s became famous in the low countries.

Such was the situation of affairs at that time, that neither party cou'd brag of the victory. They cannonaded each other for some time, 'till the night came on. The king thinking it advisable to hasten

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to *Paris* with all ſpeed, decamped, and left the count of *Charolois* maſter of the field, when he was at reſt in his camp, and deliberating upon a retreat; who, the next morning, received with great joy the news that the king was withdrawn, and pleaſed himſelf with the honour of the victory. *A. D.* 1465.

This was the only action he cou'd juſtly be proud of. The affair was ill managed on both ſides, and the loſs well nigh equal, in which two or three thouſand men periſhed. *Brezé*, who, againſt the will of the king, had brought on the battle, was killed. The *French* took many more priſoners than the *Burgundians*. The mareſchal *de Gamache*, who was come from *Paris* to meet the king, had a great ſhare in this laſt particular. Gaguin. Comines.

The count of *Charolois* continued one day in his camp and then march'd to *Eſtampes*, where he was joined by the dukes of *Berry* and *Britanny*, who were arrived thither with the count of *Dunois*, the lords *de Chabannes*, *Loheac*, *Bueil*, and *Chaumont*, and *Charles d'Amboiſe* his ſon, all whom had been turn'd out of their places by the king, without any regard to the great ſervices they had done the government in the former reign.

This addition made the princes a large and numerous army, who march'd towards *Paris*, and having forced *Charenton* bridge took up their quarters in the ſuburbs. The king was then gone to *Rouen*, to call the nobility of *Normandy* together: But as ſoon as he knew the princes were ſo near, and had already endeavoured by their emiſſaries to prevail upon the citizens, he return'd with all ſpeed. Comines.

The army of the princes was enlarged by the arrival of 6000 horſe, which the duke *d' Nemours*, the count *d'Armagnac*, and the lord *d'Albret*, brought along with them, notwithſtanding the oaths they had taken at *Riom*, never to ſerve any more againſt the king. The ſkirmiſhes between the ſoldiers on both ſides were briſk and frequent; but notwithſtanding all theſe hoſtilities, a treaty was propoſed.

This was what the king wiſh'd for above all things to abate the fury of the confederates, and endeavour the recovery of ſome of them. Several conferences were held between the deputies of both parties, but

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A. D. 1465. to no purpose. At last the king resolved to treat in person with the count of *Charolois*.

Comines, l. 1. c. 12. He sent him word, that he would come to him to *Conflans*: Which was a wrong step in the opinion of several persons; because, first, he would thereby too much expose himself; and secondly, it was below his dignity. The second reason he look'd upon as nothing; tho' when any other interest was in question, no prince was ever more nice and punctual in matter of form and ceremony.

He went by water 'till he came over against the camp of the *Burgundians*, and was convoy'd by a great body of horse on the other side the river, but had only a few lords with him in the barge.

He found the counts of *Charolois* and *S. Pol* waiting for him at the water-side. When he came near he addressed himself to the count of *Charolois* in these words. *My brother, do you give me your word*? The count answer'd, *I do, my brother*. The reason of their giving one another this appellation, was, because the count's first wife was *Catherine* of *France*, the king's sister.

His majesty landing, and affecting as much freedom in his words, as in his manner of acting, said merrily to the count of *Charolois*, *My brother, I know you to be a gentleman, and of the house of* France. *Upon what account, my lord*, replies the count, not knowing what to say. *Because*, adds the king, *when I sent of late my ambassadors to my uncle your father and you to* Lisle, *where that fool* Morvilliers *talk'd so boldly to you, you sent me word by the archbishop of* Narbonne, *that before the year expired, I should repent of* Morvillier's *words. You have kept your promise indeed, and that long before your day: I love to deal with men that keep their word.* At the same time he disavowed the chancellor's conduct, and protested that he had gone beyond his commission in talking as he had done.

This beginning was very agreeable to the count of *Charolois*, who, for his part, discourse with the king in very respectful language. The whole matter turn'd upon the dutchy of *Normandy*, which the count demanded of the king for the duke of *Berry*'s appennage, and upon the towns of the *Somme* which he required for himself. After

After a long discourse, the king concluded with these words: I cannot persuade my self to grant the duchy of *Normandy* to the duke of *Berry*, but I yield you the towns of the *Somme*; and as a new mark of my friendship for you, because I know the affection you bear the count of *S. Pol*, (this lord was present at the interview) I make him upon your account connestable of *France*. They agreed, moreover, before they separated, to continue the negotiation, by the help of two gentlemen belonging to the count of *Charolois*, who had a pass-port to go from the camp to *Paris*, and from *Paris* to the camp. These gentlemen afterwards carried several messages from one to the other. *A. D.* 1465.

The conference which the king had with the count of *Charolois* produced two effects, which he well foresaw: The first was, that in making the count of *S. Pol* connestable of *France*, under a pretence of obliging the count of *Charolois*, whose favourite *S. Pol* was, he laid a foundation for him to mistrust and suspect this lord, which was a matter of great consequence: And secondly, that affecting to treat only with the count of *Charolois*, he caused the other princes and lords to be extremely jealous of him; so that they also affected to meet among themselves without the count of *Charolois*, and were upon the point of deserting him, and retiring every man to his own estate. But an incident prevented them, and broke the king's measures, with regard to the article of the duchy of *Normandy* for the duke of *Berry*, which was this: The Lady *de Brezé*, widow of the late seneschal of *Normandy*, who was killed at the battle of *Montleri*, deliver'd up *Rouen* to the duke of *Bourbon*, and several other towns of the province followed the example of the capital, declaring themselves for the confederate princes. Comines. Chronique Scandaleuse.

The count of *Charolois* was beginning to hearken to the proposal of giving *Champagne* and *Brie* in appennage to the duke of *Berry*: But this conjuncture changed the situation of affairs; and the king seeing great part of *Normandy* was revolted, abandon'd it to the duke of *Berry*; by which means the two essential articles, which made all the difficulty in the ac-

A. D. 1465. commodation, being agreed, the treaty was soon concluded.

It was drawn up and sign'd at *Conflans* on the fifteenth of *October*; and another was made at *S. Maur*, where the duke of *Britanny*, and the other confederate princes obtain'd most of the advantages they desired; and notwithstanding the general opinion, *Lewis* XI. shew'd less prudence and *finesse* in all that passed upon this occasion, than impolitick management at his coming to the crown, in depriving so many brave men and good officers, whose friendship he was obliged afterwards to court, (how much soever it was against his will,) and in such a manner as was very unbecoming a sovereign.

As soon as each party thought themselves secure of accomplishing the two points I have been speaking of, they separated. The duke of *Berry* march'd into *Normandy* with the duke of *Britanny*, to take possession of that duchy, and was received at *Rouen* with great rejoicings. And the count of *Charolois*, as he returned into the *Low-Countries*, received homage of the towns of the *Somme*, and the rest that had been surrendered to him by the treaty of *Conflans*. The hostilities ceased on all sides, excepting on the frontiers of *Liege*, and the *Low-Countries*. The *Liegeois* had made a great diversion on that side, in favour of the king of *France*. And the count of *Charolois* was obliged to march an army thither, by which he defeated them, and obliged them to sue for peace; which he granted but upon such conditions as were very mortifying to them.

While the count of *Charolois* was employed on that side, the king set seriously about the recovery of his affairs, and endeavour'd to regain by subtilty part of what had been taken from him by force. The article of *Normandy* lay most at his heart, and he was throughly resolved to lose no opportunity that offer'd of seizing upon it. He treated privately with the duke of *Bourbon*, whom he look'd upon as one of the most dangerous heads of the confederacy, and brought him entirely over to his interest by conferring several new benefits upon him, besides those which he had obtain'd by the treaty of *S. Maur*.

Most

Most of the lords concern'd in the league, not daring to trust the king, had retired to *Normandy* with the new duke, in hopes of having a share in the government of his house and state. But matters succeeded according to the king's expectations and wishes: For ambition and jealousy soon raised a division in this new court. The duke of *Britanny*, and *Anthony de Chabanes* earl of *Damartin* join'd together to remove all others, in hopes of making themselves masters of the duke's council, and of having the privilege to dispose of all favours. It was soon discovered that the young prince wou'd be wholly guided by them; which the other lords were not able to bear, and resolved to use their utmost endeavours to get them discarded. *A. D.* 1465. Comines, c. 15.

Some of them went to the *Town-House* of *Rouen*, where the citizens were holding a meeting, and told them that the duke of *Britanny* and *Chabanes* had a design to seize the duke of *Normandy*, and carry him into *Britanny*. Whether this information was true or false, the king's emissaries laid hold of this opportunity to excite the *Normans* against the duke of *Britanny*. The citizens of *Rouen* went armed to the Fort of *S. Catherine*, where the duke of *Normandy* was then waiting, till every thing was ready for his entry, and conducted him to the city. Thus far matters proceeded, and the duke of *Britanny* found the *Normans* so averse to him, that not thinking himself secure among them, he quitted the party, and set forward with *Chabanes* for *Britanny*.

The king, who, to remove all suspicion from the dukes of *Britanny* and *Normandy*, had left *Paris*, and was gone to *Orleans*, being informed of all that passed, departed immediately; and having order'd some forces that came from different places, to meet him in the way, appear'd on a sudden with an army in *Normandy*. The duke of *Bourbon*, who began at that time to declare himself openly in the king's interest, made himself master of *Evreux* and *Vernon*. *Charles de Melun* enter'd *Gisors* and *Gournai* without any opposition: The king besieged *Pont de l'Arche* and took it; and then marched to *Caen*, where he intimidated or gain'd over the duke of *Britanny*, and made a new treaty of alliance with him only in general terms: but

Chronique scandaleuse.

Recueil de Traites, par Leonard, T. 2.

A. D. 1465. but such a one as sufficed to give the duke of *Normandy* to understand that the duke of *Britanny* had deserted him. The citizens of *Rouen* seeing *Pont de l'Arche* taken, thought it time to look about them, treated with the king by the interposition of the duke of *Bourbon*, and surrendered. Several other towns did the same. *Caen*, *Avranches*, and some other towns of lower *Normandy*, were, by the consent of the duke of *Britanny*, put into the hands of the lord *de l'Escun* by way of sequestration.

The duke of *Normandy* scared at this sudden Revolution, thought only how to avoid falling into the king's hands. He had a design to fly to the *Low-Countries*, but was afraid of being stopp'd in the way; and notwithstanding the duke of *Britanny*'s treaty with the king, finding no security elsewhere, he repair'd to the states of this duke.

A. D. 1466. This news gave the count of *Charolois* a great deal of uneasiness, who by the war of *Liege* was incapacitated for assisting the duke of *Normandy*; who found himself abandoned by almost all the *French*, most of which returned to their duty after the flight of this prince. The count of *Dunois* return'd to court, and was restored to a place in the council. This lord died four years after, in 1470.

The king, however, kept his eye constantly upon the motions of the king of *England*, the count of *Charolois*, and the duke of *Britanny*. He had spies about all these princes, who cou'd no more send their private agents thro' *France*, because they were almost always discovered, and their packets seized and carried to court: So that the duke of *Britanny* and the count of *Charolois* were forced to send their messengers thro' *England*, to maintain and carry on their correspondence.

A. D. 1467. During these transactions died *Philip* duke of *Burgundy* in *June*, *an.* 1467, by whose death the count of *Charolois* his only son became duke of *Burgundy*. The prudence of the father had for a long time, in some measure, moderated the natural fire of the son, which had been of no small disadvantage to him: But as soon as the new duke was free from this restraint, he abandon'd himself to his passions, gave his neighbours a great deal of trouble, ruined his own subjects, and

and at last destroyed himself; after he had imbroil'd great part of *Europe*. The antipathy between him and the king appeared from the time of this prince's retiring to the *Low-Countries*, while he was yet dauphin; and was very much increased afterwards by the contrariety of their Interests; so that they never thought of any thing but ruining and destroying each other. These reciprocal dispositions and designs were not unknown to either of them; and both began to take more precautions than ever, to prevent his being surprized by the other. *A. D.* 1467.

The war between the duke of *Burgundy* and the *Liegeois* continued; and when the duke drew up his army under *Louvain*, the constable of *S. Pol*, and *John de la Balue*, who was made cardinal about that time, came thither to wait upon him. The constable had lately arrived in *France* to execute the functions of his dignity; and after the death of the duke of *Burgundy*, he had engaged himself solely in the service of the king, agreeably to his oath as constable. He was a man of a superior genius, in civil or military affairs; but of a temper equally turbulent and tricking with the cardinal, his collegue in the embassy I am speaking of.

The subject of their negotiation was to desire the duke of *Burgundy* to forbear infesting the *Liegeois*, as being the king's allies. The duke answered, that the *Liegeois* had themselves broken the truce, and the king must not take it ill if he made himself satisfaction. Comines, l. 2.

Upon this answer they made another proposal, which was, That the king would abandon the *Liegeois* to him, provided he wou'd suffer him to decide the quarrels he had with the duke of *Britanny* without interposing. He rejected this offer, and told them he shou'd keep his word with the duke of *Britanny*; and all that the embassadors cou'd urge upon these two points, was not sufficient to prevail upon him to give them any other answer.

The day following they took their leave of the duke, and departed. The prince mounting, in order to put himself at the head of his army, call'd out to them, as they were going, *Pray tell the king that I intreat him to attempt nothing against the duke of* Britanny.

A. D. 1467. tanny. The conneſtable replyed, *My lord, you may chuſe which you pleaſe; if you attack our friends, we ſhall attack yours. Well*, replies he, *the* Liegeois *are drawn together, and expect an engagement within three days. If I loſe the battle, I don't queſtion but you will have your humour: But if I gain it, you ſhall let the* Bretons *be at reſt.* And then he went off without another word.

His ſucceſs in this war anſwer'd the utmoſt of his expectations: The *Liegeois* were totally defeated, ſubmitted to all the conditions he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them, and obtain'd only that their city ſhou'd not be burnt or pillaged. The duke was receiv'd there, and enter'd by a breach made on purpoſe: He neither pillaged nor burnt it; but he demoliſh'd the walls, exacted a large ſum of money of the inhabitants, and carried off all the artillery and arms.

The next day after the battle, the duke ſent the conneſtable an account of his victory, and pray'd him a ſecond time, but in a more haughty manner, to intreat the king in his name, not to attack the duke of *Britanny*. Several negotiations paſſed between them during the winter; but what overtures of advantage ſoever the king cou'd make the duke of *Burgundy*, he was not able to prevail upon him to alter his reſolution.

A. D. 1468.

Comines, l. 2. c. 5.

The king was as obſtinate on the other hand; and, as ſoon as the ſeaſon wou'd permit, ſent an army into *Britanny*, upon occaſion of the duke of *Britanny*'s harbouring the duke of *Normandy*, and becauſe of thoſe places in this province which had not yet ſubmitted.

The duke of *Britanny*, who ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſurprized, notwithſtanding the ſtrong motives he had for precaution, demanded quarter, and treated with the king. By this treaty, which was made at *Ancenis*, he diſown'd all alliances againſt *France*, and expreſly that of the duke of *Burgundy*, and conſented for the duke of *Normandy*, that the article concerning his appennage ſhou'd be ſubmitted to the arbitration of the conneſtable and the duke of *Calabria*, whom the king had alſo reclaim'd. They obliged the duke of *Britanny* to communicate this treaty immediately to the

the duke of *Burgundy*, to whom he ſent it by an herald. *A. D.* 1468.

The duke of *Burgundy* was greatly ſurprized at it, having perſuaded himſelf that the duke of *Britanny* wou'd continue firm for at leaſt ſome time, as he knew the *Burgundian* army was upon the frontiers of *France* to make a powerful diverſion. The king took the advantage of this conjuncture, which ſtrangely diſconcerted the duke of *Burgundy*'s meaſures. He repreſented to him, that the duke of *Britanny* having firſt deſerted him, there cou'd be no pretence of honour to engage him in his Intereſts; and offer'd him 120000 crowns of gold, to defray the expence of his preparations. The duke at the ſame time received advice that the *Liegeois* were beginning to riſe again, at ſeeing him upon the point of renewing the war with *France*.

This prince, conſidering the difficulty of his ſituation, thought it was his beſt way to accept of peace, till a more favourable opportunity offer'd. He received the king's money, and aſſured him by a meſſenger he much confided in, named *Vobriſſet*, who was one of his *Valets de Chambre*, that he wiſh'd for nothing more than to be in his good graces. Comines, loc. cit.

The king knowing this man to be one of the duke's confidents, open'd himſelf to him upon the deſire which he had to have an interview with his maſter, and ſent expreſs after him the cardinal *de la Balue*, and *Tannequy du Chaſtel*, who was alſo returned to Court, after having been diſgraced by the duke of *Britanny*. They propoſed the interview to the duke of *Burgundy*, who conſented to it. The place appointed for that purpoſe was *Peronne*, and the duke ſent the king a paſs under his own hand

This is one of the greateſt Paradoxes in *Lewis* XI's myſterious conduct, that, tho' he was naturally miſtruſtful and ſuſpicious, yet he ſhould ſo eaſily deliver himſelf into the hands of a man, who, he knew, both hated and feared him: For it was now the third time that he had done ſo; but it was not long before he repented of this laſt ſtep.

The king at his entering *Peronne*, received all the honours due to a ſovereign from his vaſſal, and having expreſs'd his inclinations to lodge in the caſtle, an

A. D. 1468. apartment was made ready for him, to which he repair'd: But an unlucky incident fell out, that produced a great deal of trouble, insomuch that the king reckon'd it among the greatest dangers he had ever met with during his whole life.

While the duke of *Burgundy* was preparing to enter *Picardy* with an army, the king had sent two private messengers to the *Liegeois* to persuade them to a new revolt, assuring them of being well supported. The negotiation succeeded; but the effect of it was a little too hastily executed; and it was a great imprudence in the king that he did not foresee what afterwards happen'd, that he might have prevented, or at least suspended it.

The conference at *Peronne* was hardly begun, when the duke of *Burgundy* received the news that the *Liegeois* had revolted, and forced the city of *Tongres*, taken their bishop, with the lord *Imbercourt*, killed sixteen canons, and committed other great excesses; that this was done at the instigation of two envoys of the king, who were present at the taking of *Tongres*, and were at the head of all the cruelties exercis'd by the *Liegeois*. At this news the duke of *Burgundy* fell in a passion, placed a guard before the gate of the castle, where the king was lodged, and was just upon the point of shutting him up in a tower, where formerly *Charles* the simple was confined by *Herbert* earl of *Vermandois*, and died there. If *Philip de Comines*, his *Chamberlain*, who was at that time his favourite, had not inspired him with somewhat more moderate thoughts, the matter might have proved fatal to the king; who some time after made his acknowledgments to *Comines* for his behaviour upon this occasion.

Comines, l. 2. c. 8.

After the king had been for three days under the greatest apprehensions, they proceeded to the negotiation. The duke required a new oath of this prince to observe the treaty of Peace, and proposed his going with him to the country of *Liege*, whither he design'd to repair immediately to punish the *Liegeois*. The king durst not refuse, but set forward with him, and was forced to contribute with the few forces he had there attending him, to the ruin of his best friends and most faithful allies.

Liege

Liege was carried by assault, abandon'd to pillage, and reduced to ashes, excepting the churches, and cannons houses. After this expedition, the king, who was heartily weary of attending so long upon the duke of *Burgundy*, took leave of him. He was guarded to the frontier by *Philip de Crevecœur* lord of *Cordes*, and took the road for *Compiegne*. He order'd the treaty of *Peronne* to be registred in parliament; and it was soon after published at *Paris*, and confirmed anew at *Amboise* on the 24th of *March*. *A. D.* 1468. *Chronique scandaleuse.* *Invent. des chart.* T. 4. *A. D.* 1469.

The king, after his return, affected to appear a most exact observer of the treaty of *Peronne:* But closely pursued his design of drawing off prince *Charles*, his brother, from the duke of *Burgundy*'s interest, and of over-reaching him in the affair of his appennage. He sent his agents into *Britanny* upon this message, with a proposal of the duchy of *Guyenne* and the government of *Rochelle*, instead of *Champagne* and *Brie*, which had been adjudged to him by the arbitration of the constable and the duke of *Calabria*, as had been agreed upon. Comines, *l.* 2. *c.* 15.

The duke of *Burgundy* earnestly exhorted prince *Charles* by letter not to accept of this change. His chief reason was, because *Champagne* being in the neighbourhood of *Burgundy*, the prince wou'd always have a sure retreat ready at hand, in case of any broils between him and the king: Which wou'd certainly happen from time to time, unless he wou'd submit to be an absolute slave to the court.

The duke of *Burgundy* was not the only person that gave him this advice: Those whom the king believed to be the most devoted to his person, did the same. The spirit of treachery and deceit had seized the court of *Lewis* XI. to such a degree, that the art of deceiving seemed to be the only thing they endeavour'd to excel in: The prince's conduct in this respect was an ill example for his courtiers and ministers. The cardinal *de la Balue*, whom the king had taken from the dunghill, to raise him to the highest rank in church and state, was the man that betrayed him in the affair before us. He apprehended that his zeal and services would be disregarded, when the royal family and the kingdom were at peace, and the king had less need of his ministers: Which wou'd be the necessary

A. D. 1469. necessary consequence of a reconciliation between the king and his brother: Whereas if the prince insisted upon having *Champagne* for his appennage, there was no fear of matters coming to such a situation, or however of their continuing long in it. This made the cardinal be so instant and pressing with him by private Letters.

William d'Haraucourt, bishop of *Verdun*, who had a great influence over the mind of prince *Charles*, acted in concert with the cardinal. This bishop was disgusted at the king, because, when he had given him hopes of a cardinal's cap, he took no farther thought about procuring it. By chance some letters of the cardinal and the bishop were intercepted. The king discovered the whole mystery, and order'd them both into custody. The cardinal he sent prisoner to *Monbazon*, and the bishop to the *Bastille*. The first was confined for eleven years, and the other for fifteen. The controversy between the king and the pope, about the form of proceeding to be observed in this affair, was the reason why the cardinal was not brought to his Tryal, and the cause of his continuing so long in prison.

Observations sur l'Histoire de Comines.

The king thus delivered from his unfaithful minister, gain'd over *Odet d'Aidie*, Bastard *d'Armagnac*, Lord *de l'Escus*, whom he afterwards made count of *Cominges*. He was the person that was at that time most in favour and trust with prince *Charles*, and who at length prevail'd upon him to chuse the duchy of *Guyenne* instead of *Champagne*. The treaty being concluded, *Charles* came to meet the king at *Montils* near *Tours*. The *Te Deum* was sung in praise to God for a peace and reconciliation so long wish'd for, and which the duke of *Burgundy* was extremely uneasy at.

Comines, loc. cit.

The king found himself already far advanced in the design he had formed of disuniting all the princes and lords concerned in the league for the publick good: He had now nothing more to do, but to separate *Francis* II. duke of *Britanny*, from the duke of *Burgundy*. This prince had already renounced that alliance by the treaty of *Ancenis*; but after the affair at *Peronne*, it had been again renewed. The king was very

very doubtful of him; but to ſound his intentions, he made uſe of the following ſtratagem. *A. D.* 1469.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* he had inſtituted the order of knighthood of *S. Michael*, at the beginning of the year 1470. He ſent the collar of this order in great ceremony to the duke of *Britanny*, who was very much confounded at the honour, but aſſured him of his gratitude and great acknowledgments for it: But when he had conſidered the matter, deſired him to give him leave not to accept of it, becauſe, as he ſaid, ſeveral ſtatutes of the order were inconſiſtent with his dignity, prerogative, and rights. It was pretended that he had already received the order of the golden Fleece from the duke of *Burgundy*; who himſelf appeared ſoon after at *Ghent* with the order of the Garter and the red croſs of *England*.

Charte de l'erection de l'ordre de S. Michael, dans les memoires de Bethune, vol. cotté 8445. *Chronique ſcandaleuſe. A. D.* 1470.

The king, who was greatly diſſatisfied with the duke of *Britanny*, was yet well pleaſed that he had diſcovered the duke's diſpoſition towards him. He gueſſed by the conduct of the two dukes, that there might be a ſecret league between them and the king of *England*, and took proper meaſures to prevent the conſequences of it, in caſe of their giving him time to proſecute them: Which, however, did not hinder him from making uſe of the interval of this ſeeming peace to puniſh a rebel, to whom this juſtice had for a conſiderable time been due from him.

This rebel was *John* count of *Armagnac*. He was one of the moſt forward to take up arms in the league for the publick good, had been reconciled with the king by the treaty of *Riom* in *Auvergne*; but notwithſtanding his oath, had ſoon after rejoin'd the army of the princes before *Paris*. The treaties of *Conflans* and *S. Maur* ſhelter'd him from the puniſhment due to this ſecond inſtance of infidelity; and he was permitted to live without any moleſtation in his earldom of *Armagnac*, till about *an.* 1469. The king being inform'd that he was ſtill intriguing with the duke of *Burgundy*, ſent *Chabanes* with an army againſt him. The count being ſurprized, fled and abandoned his States, which were ſeized and ſurrendred up into the hands of the king. He was afterwards condemned to death by a decree of Parliament; but he had taken care to ſecure his perſon at *Fonterabia*.

Chronique ſcandaleuſe.

In

A. D. 1470. In the mean time the affairs of *England* took a very favourable turn with regard to the king, and for some time deliver'd him from the apprehensions he was under upon the union of *Edward* the usurper of the kingdom of *England*, with the duke of *Burgundy*, to whom he had given his sister in marriage.

Edward, the head of the house of *York*, kept *Henry* VI. the head of the house of *Lancaster*, close prisoner in the *Tower* of *London*. He was obliged to *Richard* earl of *Warwick* for the crown; and while he preserved him in his interest, he had scarce an enemy to fear: But he grew jealous of the great power of this lord, who being aware of his suspicions, resented the matter and contrived his ruin.

He made a private league with the king of *France*, and went to *Calais*, of which he was governor, under pretence of some affairs calling him thither; having left orders for the persons concern'd in the conspiracy, to begin the revolt. The duke of *Clarence*, *Edward*'s brother, was in the plot; the revolt began in *Yorkshire*; *Warwick* immediately repassed the Seas, put himself at the head of the deserters, went to meet the earl of *Pembroke*, who was come against him with an army, defeated him, surprized *Edward* himself, who followed *Pembroke* with another body, beat him, took him prisoner, and sent him to the castle of *Middelham*.

Polydor. Virgil 6.24.

It was not fit that a prisoner of this importance shou'd be committed to the custody of any persons, but such whose fidelity cou'd be well depended upon. *Warwick* thought he had done this, but he was deceived. *Edward* bribed his keepers, and made his escape. As soon as he was at liberty, he presently got together the remainders of his party, and made a new army, which he led directly to *London*, where he was received. After this he took the field again, fell upon *Warwick*'s army before he came to join them, cut them in pieces, and forced the earl and the duke of *Clarence* to fly beyond sea for security.

France was a ready *Asylum* for them, where they were honourably received. At that time the duke of *Burgundy*, upon the pressing instances of *Edward*, pull'd off the mask, and discover'd the strict alliance he had enter'd into with this prince. He wrote not to

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the king, but the parliament of *Paris*, to complain of their harbouring his mortal enemy, the earl of *Warwick*, pretending that it was a plain infraction of the treaty of *Peronne*, (which was a very difficult point to prove;) and ended his letter with threatning them, that if *Warwick* did not depart the kingdom immediately, he would come himself and fetch him out. But the king laugh'd at this rodomontade. *A. D.* 1470.

Notwithstanding *Edward*'s victory, the earl of *Warwick*'s party had still kept their ground; and sent him word, that if he made haste, he wou'd no sooner appear in *England*, than there would be a general revolt. He set sail with a fleet he had brought from *England* into *France*, and to which the king had join'd some vessels, under the command of the bastard of *Bourbon*, admiral of *France*, and also some *French* forces. *Chronique scandaleuse.*

The earl of *Warwick* landed at *Dartmouth* and *Plymouth*, and in a few days found himself at the head of 60000 men. *Edward*'s army began to desert in great bodies, and this prince seeing himself upon the point of being entirely forsaken, was obliged to retire, took ship, and fled to the duke of *Burgundy* in *Flanders*.

Warwick seeing himself master of the field, march'd directly to *London*, which open'd its gates to him. He sent for the keys of the *Tower*, set *Henry* VI. at liberty, who had been imprison'd for six years, and made the *English* acknowledge him a second time for their king. The effects of the *Burgundians* were seized in the ports; and some time after they published a treaty of alliance between *Henry* VI. king of *England*, and the king of *France*. Polydor Virgil. *Chronique scandaleuse.*

We don't meet with such frequent and sudden revolutions as these, any where but in *England*. *Edward* reigns for the space of five or six months, afterwards is taken prisoner, then set at liberty and restored to the crown, and at length dethroned, forced to fly, and be a refugee at a foreign court.

This was a terrible stroke for the duke of *Burgundy*; and the more so, because the duke of *Britanny* had but a little before, by the interposition of the duke of *Bourbon*, and the count of *Beaujeu*, made a new renunciation of his alliance, and reconciled himself to the king. The duke of *Guyenne* also being reclaim'd by the king his brother, had contributed to this accommo-

A. D. 1470. commodation. Thus the king brought about what he had long wish'd for, to have no other difficulty to struggle with, but in regard to the duke of *Burgundy* alone.

Comines. l. 3. c. 1. The manner in which the king had been treated at *Peronne*, lay always heavy at his heart, and he was resolved sooner or later to revenge it: But he was very unwilling to engage himself in a new war, and thought it his best way to temporize, and wait till the duke of *Burgundy*'s own subjects, and especially the *Flemmings*, who were always untoward, and at best discontented with him, and who seem'd throughly disposed for a revolt, should raise a disturbance to embarrass his affairs. The taxes he laid upon them, the levying and marching of Forces, the interruption of commerce, evils owing to the restless disposition of this prince, cou'd hardly fail of producing this effect in time. The king had already a correspondence in two or three other principal towns of *Picardy*, and he was in hopes of having the same in some towns of the *Low-Countries*. Upon this account he was resolved not to be in haste; but some of his council, having particular views, very different from those of their prince, thought of nothing but persuading him to this War.

The connestable of *S. Pol* had all the motives of inclination and interest to engage him this way: Both his revenues and authority being much more considerable in war than in peace. This reason was common to him, with several other princes and lords; who besides, foresaw that peace wou'd make the king more independent of them; and they knew his temper and disposition to be such, that he wou'd think only of depressing and aggrieving them, of disputing their rights and privileges, and of endeavouring to diminish their power in their appennages and governments.

The duke of *Guyenne*, who was formerly attach'd to the duke of *Burgundy*, was the most pressing for the war. He had a very particular reason for it, known only to the connestable, the dukes of *Britanny* and *Bourbon*, and a few others that governed him.

The duke of *Burgundy* had but one daughter to inherit his great possessions, who had been earnestly demanded

manded by several princes. The duke received all the different proposals that were made him upon that affair, without rejecting any offer, and, at the same time, without entring into any engagement about it, in hopes of keeping all these competitors in his interest. *A. D.* 1470.

The duke of *Guyenne*, by advice of the princes above-named, sent privately to demand her of the duke of *Burgundy*. These princes had also a view to their own particular interests in this matter which was to embaras the king's affairs, by re-uniting the duke of *Guyenne* with the duke of *Burgundy* in so strict a tye as this, and raising him to such a pitch of power, as might render him formidable, and themselves necessary for the support of the state and sovereign, who wou'd be obliged more than ever to keep terms with them.

The duke of *Burgundy*, far from rejecting the duke of *Guyenne*'s demand, gave it a very favourable reception, but cou'd never be brought to resolve upon the execution of it; and pretended so many excuses for delay, that the princes and the connestable resolv'd to force him to it, to unite in one body against him, to perswade the king to make war upon him, and to press him so vigorously as to oblige him to cringe to them. When they had reduced him to this, they design'd to make him buy, at the price of this marriage, their reconciliation with them, and the advantage of having them in his interest against the king, whom they were resolv'd to abandon, in case he shou'd refuse to agree to the duke of *Guyenne*'s marriage.

This was the true and immediate cause of this war, and the snare they, at the same time, laid for the king, who was not aware of it, 'till he was in the midst of it, but look'd upon all his council as zealous for his glory, and the grandeur of his government, while they were endeavouring to ruin his authority and power. Comines loc. cit.

The war then was at last resolved upon, and decreed by the states which the king assembled at *Tours*, and a declaration of hostility was sent to the duke of *Burgundy*. It began with the duke's losing *S. Quentin*, *Amiens*, *Roye*, and *Mondidier*, where the king had some correspondents, which were taken without any trouble. *Chronique scandaleuse.* *A. D.* 1471.

A. D. 1471. trouble. *Philip de Crevecœur*, lord of *Cordes*, one of the duke of *Burgundy*'s generals saved *Abbeville*, when it was just going the same way.

Comines loc. cit.

'Till then the duke of *Burgundy* had ascribed the cause of the war to the king's animosity, and his resentment at what passed at *Peronne*: But he discover'd the design, by the manner in which the dukes of *Britanny* and *Guyenne* talk'd or wrote to him upon the occasion. He received a note from the duke of *Guyenne*, which contain'd only these words without any name, *Take care to content your subjects, and don't trouble yourself, for you shall find friends.* The constable spoke more plainly, to a man whom the duke of *Burgundy* had sent privately to him; and told him that the duke had but one way to lay this storm, *viz.* by keeping his word with the duke of *Guyenne*. The duke of *Britanny* sent him the same message soon after, but in harsher terms, mix'd with reproach and menaces. Thus the constable, and these two princes, play'd upon the king, who, without knowing it, was the instrument of their passion against his own Interests.

The duke of *Burgundy* following his impetuous humour, resolved to hazard every thing rather than be forced to the marriage of his daughter. He enter'd the field in the middle of winter, advanced as far as the *Somme*, and made himself master of the pass, by forcing the castle of *Peguigni*; and after this expedition, which he made for no other reason, but to shew that he was not only in a condition to defend himself, but also to act upon the offensive, he sent to demand peace of the king, and wrote him a short, but very humble letter, which he concluded with telling him, that if he had been well informed of all that had passed, he wou'd not have declared war against him.

He explain'd himself no farther upon particulars: But whether the king had from other hands received some account of the constable's intrigues, or that these words gave him some suspicion, he made him a very civil answer, and acquainted him that he wou'd readily grant him peace, provided he wou'd forbear to excite disturbances in his kingdom. So they came to a truce, which was concluded at *Abbeville* for one year,

year, to the great disappointment of the connestable, who saw all his projects by that means prove abortive. However, he began anew to treat under-hand with the duke, about the marriage of the duke of *Guyenne* with *Mary* of *Burgundy*, the re-union of the princes against the king, and the restitution of *S. Quintin*, which he had seized, and which it was wholly in his power to deliver at what time, and to whom he should think proper. *A. D* 1471.

In the mean time, the face of affairs in *England* was once more changed. *Edward* brought his brother, the duke of *Clarence*, over to his interest again, and returning to *England* with some forces, infused new life into his party, defeated the earl of *Warwick* in one battle, and gain'd another against the army of *Margaret* of *Anjou*, queen of *England*; in which her son the prince of *Wales* was killed, at eighteen years of age. *Edward* had already made himself master of *London*, where king *Henry* VI. was deserted by his adherents, seized and imprison'd a third time, and some time after massacred by order of *Edward*. The queen also was taken in the last battle, but ransomed herself by making a cession of all demands she had upon *England* in virtue of her marriage contract, and return'd to *France*, where she ended her days. *Edward* secured his throne at the expence of the life of several lords, and his own brother the duke of *Clarence*. He maintain'd himself in it by these violent methods, and stopp'd (to the time of his death at least) a civil war which had lasted twenty years, in which a multitude of souls perished in eight or ten battles, with most of the princes of the royal houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, whose mutual hatred, and the competition between them, brought all these miseries upon *England*. Comines. l. 3. ch. 5

The king was greatly concern'd at this revolution, for fear that *Edward*, who had been dethroned by his means, and restored by the duke of *Burgundy*'s assistance, shou'd join with the duke to make war upon *France*. The marriage negotiation between the duke of *Guyenne* and *Mary* of *Burgundy*, seemed now pretty forward; and the duke thought it so near, that he sent the bishop of *Montauban* to *Rome*, to pro

A. D. 1471. cure a dispensation upon account of consanguinity. The king made a new effort upon the duke, to whom he sent the sieur *du Bouchage* to make a fresh representation to him of the inconveniences of his alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*.

Instructions données par Louis XI. au sieur de Bouchage, aux Memoires de Bethune, vol. cotté 8447. vol. cot. 8449.

By good fortune the king of *England* himself vehemently opposed this marriage, and his embassadors were instant with the duke of *Burgundy*, to dissuade him from it. The reason of which was this: The king of *France* having but one son in the cradle, the duke of *Guyenne* might come to the crown, in which case the kingdom wou'd be augmented with the large territories of the duke of *Burgundy*, and he wou'd grow to such a pitch of power, as to crush *England*. Upon this consideration *Edward* was more disposed to unite with *France*, than enter into alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, provided the king wou'd promise him not to consent to the duke of *Guyenne*'s marriage.

But this grand affair ended by an unexpected accident. The duke of *Guyenne* died at *Bourdeaux* on *A. D.* 1472. the twelfth of *May*. There appeared in his sickness several symptoms, as if he had been poison'd, which was made publick with all the circumstances attending it, and raised a suspicion not very favourable to the king's reputation.

Comines l. 3. c. 9.

Be that as it will, a little before his death the king concluded a peace with the duke of *Burgundy* at *Crotoy*, which *Comines* calls a final peace, and which indeed had merited this name, if the duke of *Guyenne*'s death had not prevented its being ratified by the king. By this treaty the duke of *Burgundy* was wholly to abandon the dukes of *Guyenne* and *Britanny*, and to swear never to concern himself any more in their affairs. As to the king, he was to restore the duke of *Burgundy*, *Amiens*, and *S. Quintin*, and in like manner to abandon the connestable to him, against whom the duke was very much provoked, upon account of the war which he had caused the king to declare against him in order to force him to marry his daughter to the duke of *Guyenne*. The king, by another article, gave up the protection of the count *de Nevers*. This count was a prince of the house of *Burgundy*, who had long since put himself under the protection

Collection de Traitez par Leon. tom. 1.

protection of the king, and pretended to several places in the possession of that branch of *Burgundy*, that was then upon the throne. *A. D.* 1472.

When the treaty was to be ratified, the king, who had received an account of the duke of *Guyenne*'s lying dangerously ill, made several excuses to put it off; and upon the news of his death, refused to sign it. If there was any excuse for the king's honour in this refusal, it was his suspicion of the duke of *Burgundy*'s sincerity in the treaty itself: For he knew the duke had sent the duke of *Britanny* word, to be no ways concern'd at this treaty, but to assure himself that he should always have his interests, and those of the duke of *Guyenne* at heart; that his compliance in this matter, was only to recover *Amiens* and *S. Quintin* out of the king's hands; that he thought he had done nothing to the prejudice of his own honour, in deceiving his deceiver; and look'd upon himself as no more obliged to observe this last treaty, than the king thought himself concern'd to observe those of *Conflans* and *Peronne*. Upon this footing stood these two princes with regard to one another. Their agents exactly executed the king's orders to the sieurs *du Bouchage* and *de Solliers*, upon occasion of another treaty, *If they impose upon you, do you impose upon them also.* Because of these mutual distrusts and trickings, they could nó more treat securely with each other, nor depend upon the most solemn oaths: But the duke of *Burgundy* was bubbled by them.

Instructions de Louis XI. au sieur du Bouchage & de Solliers, dans les Memoires de Bethune. cot. d. 8449.

In truth he exercis'd the greatest cruelties of war in *Picardy* and *Normandy* by way of revenge, while the king was taken up in the affairs of *Guyenne*, after the death of the duke his brother: But he soon lost the conquests he had gain'd there, and at length the duke of *Britanny* broke off from him. The king by bribery gain'd the lord *de Lescun*, who absolutely governed this duke; and by his means perswaded him to renounce his alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, and reconcile himself to him. Comines.

At the same time the king made another conquest to the great disadvantage of the duke of *Burgundy*, by drawing over to his interest the lord *Philip de Comines*, the best head of the duke's council. *Comines*, who himself informs us of this change, has not L. 3. ch. 11.

A. D. 1472. thought fit to give us the reasons of it. The *Flemish* historians are very angry with him, and offer several reasons for his doing it, which appear to be all very frivolous. Soon after his arrival in *France*, the king gave him the principality of *Talmont*, *Aulonne*, *Curzon*, *Chateau-Gontier*, and *la Chaume*; and in the deed of gift he mentions, among other motives, his obligation to this lord, for contributing to his escape out of the duke of *Burgundy*'s hands, after he had pawn'd himself at *Peronne*.

Registres du Parlement du l'an. 1473. Memorial de la Chambre des Comptes. cot. O. fol. 150. & 161. verso.

Notwithstanding the animosity between the two princes, a truce was concluded in the beginning of winter. The constable of *S. Pol*, in all appearance, was not much consulted upon these accommodations, which were so opposite to his views: But he had at last a greater part in them than he expected. The two princes were equally enraged against him. The king had discover'd from the duke of *Burgundy* himself what promises the constable had made him of declaring with the dukes of *Britanny* and *Guyenne* in his favour, upon condition of his marrying his daughter to this prince. This treachery exasperated the king to excess, and from that time he resolved upon his destruction. I have already observed, that the duke of *Burgundy* had taken the same resolution upon his losing *Amiens* and *S. Quintin*, of which the constable was the cause, and for his endeavours to force him to the marriage of his daughter with the duke of *Guyenne*.

A. D. 1473.

These two princes conspiring together to ruin the constable, he was lost without a remedy; but their mutual mistrust of each other, prevented their coming to any conclusion, the one fearing least the other should reconcile himself at his expence with the constable, who possess'd several fortresses upon the frontiers of both kingdoms in *Artois* and *Picardy*, which it was in his power to deliver up to either of them that shou'd receive him to favour, and break with the other.

However, they agreed to a resolution upon the matter, and under pretence of treating of a prolongation of the truce, sent deputies to *Bovines* by *Namur*, to decide the affair; where it was decreed, that the two princes should, by sound of trumpet, declare

A. D. 1473.

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the conneſtable an enemy to them both, guilty of treaſon and rebellion; and that whoever ſhou'd firſt take him, ſhou'd put him to death within the ſpace of eight hours. Upon this condition the king obliged himſelf to reſtore *S. Quintin* to the duke of *Burgundy*. *A. D.* 1474.

While the conferences were holding upon this occaſion, the ſecret was betrayed; but it is not known by whom. The conneſtable was informed of what paſſed, and tho' he was terrify'd with the thoughts of the imminent danger he was in, he did not loſe his preſence of mind, but acted with contrivance. As he was perfectly well acquainted with the ſuſpicious diſpoſition of the king, he wrote him word, *That he had received very preſſing ſollicitations from the duke of* Burgundy *to join him againſt* France. This was the very thing the king apprehended; and he made no queſtion, but the duke of *Burgundy* had diſcovered to the conneſtable the plot that was laid for him, and made uſe of this ſtratagem to debauch and draw him off from his intereſt.

In purſuance of this perſuaſion, he diſpatch'd a courier to his agents at *Bovines*, with orders to ſuſpend the affair. It was already concluded, and both ſides had ſigned, and delivered the inſtruments. But notwithſtanding this, the league was put off to *May* the following year. Meyer.

The conneſtable applauded himſelf greatly for having trapped the king; but was however very uneaſy at the apprehenſions of what might happen afterwards: For he was perſuaded of the duke of *Burgundy*'s irreconcileable hatred to him, and had but little hopes of favour from the king. He wrote again to him, *Conjuring him not to condemn him unheard*, but conſidering what had paſſed at *Bovines*, he told them, *he con'd not appear before him without firſt receiving ſecurity*.

It was ſurprizing to conſider what condeſcenſion the king uſed upon this occaſion, who conſented to meet him at the ſide of a ſmall river between *La Fere* and *Noyon*, to hear what the conneſtable had to ſay in defence of himſelf, and came at the time appointed.

The conneſtable had cauſed a rail to be made in the place where the conference was to be held; and over this rail the king and he were to converſe. The diſ-

A. D. 1474. course did not last long. The king promised to forget all that had passed, and the constable returned to *S. Quintin*, proud of having treated with his sovereign almost as with an equal; but leaving all the world to exclaim against such an audacious conduct.

Indeed, it is difficult to say which is most to be condemned, the insolence of the subject, or the weakness of the prince; in which, however, several people found a mystery. It was openly declaimed against; publick jests were made upon the rail: These murmurs and banters made the king reflect upon the step he had taken, and served to incense him more than ever against the constable. The affair produced some remarkable consequences; but before I mention them, the order of time obliges me to touch upon two other points.

The first is, the duke of *Alencon*'s treason. The king received information of a treaty which this Prince had made with the duke of *Burgundy*, and had him arrested. He was besides convicted of carrying on an intrigue with the *English*, and of several other Crimes. Upon which he was condemn'd to death; but the king granted him his life, and confined him to a prison, where he died *Ann.* 1476, unlamented, having, for all the good qualities of valour and ability in war, a great number of very bad ones, such as imprudence, treachery, ingratitude, and an irreclaimable inclination to rebellion against his sovereigns.

The other point was, the revolt of *Rouſſillon*: The king was obliged to send an army thither, because the rebels were supported by *John* II. king of *Arragon*. The lord of *Lau* held out a long time in the castle of *Perpignan*, expecting succours from the cardinal *d'Albi* and *John d'Aillon*, lord *du Lude*. They supply'd the castle with provisions. But afterwards a truce was made, and at length they laid siege to *Perpignan*. This siege lasted eight months, and the inhabitants were forced to have recourse to the king's clemency. They were surprized at the goodness, with which he granted them their request of pardon. and at the mildness with which he treated them: But he proposed by this means to win upon their affections; and besides, he had very strong reasons to finish this affair with all speed.

The

The duke of *Burgundy*, and the king of *England*, had made a defensive and offensive league against *France*. The duke of *Britanny* went into their measures, and the king got notice of it by some letters which he bought for a large sum of money of one of the king of *England*'s secretaries. *A. D.* 1474. Comines, l. 4.

This prince, and the duke of *Burgundy*, raised each of them a great army under different pretences, and the king wou'd have had a terrible affair upon his hands, if the duke had not made a mistake: But his excessive ambition put him upon too great designs, and made him too precipitate in the execution of them. He had succeeded *Arnold* duke of *Gueldres*, by which means he came to the possession of not only this dutchy, but also the earldom of *Zutphen*, all the towns situate upon the *Issel*, and some others. Upon this, he thought of executing a design he had long projected, of erecting his states into a kingdom, by the title of the *Kingdom of Burgundy*. For this purpose he enter'd into a negotiation with the emperor *Frederick* of *Austria:* But the matter came to nothing. Meyer, l. 17.

As the increase of power only whets the desire of making farther advances, he form'd another project at the same time, more chimerical than the former, *viz.* to make himself master of all the towns of the *Rhine* from the mouth of that river, as far as *Nimeguen*, to form a communication between his states and the earldom of *Ferette*, which he had received in mortgage from *Sigismond* of *Austria*, that is to say, to extend his conquests, on that side, as far as *Basil*. This design must needs meet with great obstacles, not only on the part of the king of *France*, but also from the *Swiss*, and the princes of *Germany*; but without regarding the consequences of so rash an enterprize, he laid hold of an occasion that offer'd to carry the war thither. Comines, loc. cit.

Robert, son of *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*, had been chosen archbishop of *Cologne*, and confirmed by the pope, and received the investiture from the emperor: But being soon after at variance with the chapter and the city, they both revolted against him, and placed at their head *Herman*, brother of the landgrave of *Hesse*, canon of *Cologne*, giving him hopes of the archbishoprick. Comines, loc. cit.

A. D. 1474. *Robert* of *Bavaria* had recourse to the duke of *Burgundy*, who went to besiege *Herman* in *Nuis*, firmly resolved according to his design to keep the place, when he had taken it, and afterwards to make himself master of *Cologne*. He persuaded the king of *England*, that the siege of *Nuis* wou'd be soon over, and promised him, that as soon as he had compassed it, he wou'd enter *France* with his army.

Whether his sentiments concerning the continuance of the siege of *Nuis* were agreeable to his declarations to the king of *England*, or not, he proposed a prolongation of the truce to the king of *France*. Several of the king's council were for rejecting his proposal, because of the just suspicions they had of the duke's league with the king of *England*, and insisted upon the necessity of getting the start of him, by seising the towns of *Picardy*, while he was taken up in the siege of *Nuis*. The king and the rest were of a different opinion, and thought it proper to let him alone to engage with the *Germans*; that in such a war he wou'd lose men and money in abundance; and if he shou'd be beaten, he wou'd be a cheap and easy prey for *France*; but if he got the better, he was not of a disposition to be content to stop there, but wou'd be for pushing his point still farther, and by that means draw all *Germany* upon his back. This opinion was followed, and the truce prolonged.

As the king imagined, so it came to pass. At the news of the siege of *Nuis*, the emperor, and most of the *German* princes took the alarm. The king did not fail to stir up the sparks under hand: He treated with them, and promised, That as soon as the emperor's army shou'd approach *Nuis*, he wou'd send his own thither, consisting of twenty thousand men. He broke his word with them; but did the matter as effectually and advantageously another way. *Ibid.*

He caused a league of six years to be concluded between the *Swiss*, and the towns of the *Rhine*. The *Swiss*, by his means, persuaded *Sigismond*, duke of *Austria*, to redeem the earldom of *Ferette*, which he had mortgaged to the duke of *Burgundy* for a hundred thousand Florins. The matter was executed, and the *Swiss*, without waiting for the duke of *Burgundy*'s answer, drove his soldiers out of the earldom; and to revenge

revenge some insults they had received from the *Burgundians*, enter'd *Burgundy*, and made great ravage there. *A. D.* 1474.

The young duke of *Lorrain René*, son of *Ferri*, count of *Vaudemont*, and grandson of *René*, king of *Sicily*, who had resign'd the duchy of *Lorrain* to him, sent a declaration of war to the duke of *Burgundy*, committed havock in *Luxemburgh*, and took some towns there.

He must have had as much resolution, at least as much obstinacy and rashness as the duke of *Burgundy*, not to give over his enterprize. The siege of *Nuis* had lasted one year, and he himself was, in a manner, besieged in his camp by the *German* army, which was much superiour to him in number.

But neither his own personal danger, nor the reason he had to be afraid of the king of *France*, nor the king of *England*'s sollicitations, whose great attempts both by sea and land wou'd come to nought, if he went on, were able to move him; and he sent him no other answer, but that he was engaged in honour to finish his undertaking, and he was resolved to perish in it, rather than lose his reputation.

In the mean time, the truce between *France* and *Burgundy* being assured, the king took the field with all speed, seized *Roye*, *Mondidier* and *Corbi*, and ravaged the earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Artois* up to the very gates of *Arras*. A battle was fought there, in which the *Burgundians* were defeated, and several lords and gentlemen taken. The *Burgundians* were beaten a second time at *Chateau-Chinon*, by *Bernard* dauphin of *Auvergne*. *A. D.* 1475. Comines, Book IV. c. 3. Registres du Parlement. de l'an. 1475.

While these things were transacting, the king endeavoured to excuse himself to the emperor, for not sending the army of twenty thousand men, as he had promised, to *Nuis*, by pleading that he had done a much greater service in raising the duke so many enemies, and making him a diversion in *Picardy*. The emperor was by no means satisfied with this apology; and seeing *Nuis* close pressed, he consented to a negotiation proposed to him by pope *Sixtus* the Fifth's legate. It was agreed, that the town shou'd be sequester'd into the hands of the pope. By this means the duke of *Burgundy*, and the emperor thought to save their honour.

A. D. 1475. nour. It is certain, that an enterprize of this nature so well managed, was much to the honour of the duke of *Burgundy*: But all wise men at that time were of opinion, that there never was a greater piece of folly within the view and prospect of a glorious conclusion. It discovered his ambitious designs, deprived him of the opportunity of doing a great deal of mischief to *France*, drew a great many enemies upon him, and particularly the *Swiss*, by whose hands he perished miserably some time after.

Recueil de traitez par Leonard. It was upon occasion of the siege of *Nuis*, that the king made a perpetual league with the Cantons, *viz.* against the duke of *Burgundy*. From that time, the *Swiss* began to make a figure in *Europe*, and enter'd more than ever into the scheme of the interests of princes.

After all, the king was not wholly easy and disengaged, as he knew what great preparations were making in *England*, and that the connestable had renewed his alliance with the duke of *Burgundy*, upon promise of delivering up *S. Quintin* to him, and the other towns he possessed in *Picardy* and *Artois*. He was not long in suspense upon the designs of the king of *England*: For this prince, after the breaking up of the siege of *Nuis*, sent an envoy equipp'd with the ensigns of an herald, who presented the king a letter in his name, to demand the restitution of the kingdom of *France*; and, in case of refusal, to declare war.

Comines, l. 4. c. 5.

The king having read the letter, shew'd no surprize upon the occasion; but talk'd with the herald in a very courteous and condescending manner; and having observ'd, during the conference, that this man was a person of great trust with his master, he omitted nothing to gain him over to his interest, but making use of flattery, presents and promises, carried his point. The envoy confessed to him, that the king of *England* had no great aversion to a peace with *France*; but declined speaking of a negotiation, 'till his arrival at *Calais*. He told him, that several *English* lords were against this war, and among the rest *Stanley* and *Howard* by name; that they were the proper persons to manage this affair with the king of *England*, and that he wou'd take care to make them his friends upon this occasion.

Edward,

Edward, in a short time, arrived at *Calais* with one of the most splendid armies that had for a long time landed in *France*; but found matters in a very different situation from what he had been given to expect. The duke of *Burgundy* came to meet him with a handful of men; and upon the king's reproaching him, excused himself by urging, that his soldiers had been exposed to many fatigues, and were still refreshing themselves in their quarters; but he greatly calm'd him by reading a letter of the constable of *S. Pol* to him, in which he assured him, that upon the news of the king of *England*'s arrival, he wou'd immediately declare openly against the king of *France*, take the field, and deliver him up *S. Quintin*, and all the other places which belong'd to him in *Picardy* and *Artois*. *A. D.* 1475. Chap. 6.

The king of *England* was perfectly easy upon this promise, which he wou'd have depended very little upon, if he had known the constable better, who, tho' he was very ready to revolt against the king, was not a man that cared to part with any thing without a considerable advantage to be gained by it. He actually treated under-hand with the king, in hopes of making an advantage of the danger he was in, and was by no means disposed to give up *S. Quintin*, of which he was master.

However, the king of *England*, in confidence of what the duke of *Burgundy* had told him concerning the constable's resolution, march'd up to *Peronne*, from whence he sent a detachment to take possession of *S. Quintin*: But they refused to receive him there. The king of *England* was exasperated at this affront. The duke of *Burgundy* might say what he wou'd upon the constable's conduct, who, no doubt, had powerful reasons not to declare so openly as yet; *Edward* regarded none of his pretences, and the duke left him in great discontent, to go and draw together his forces.

The king of *France* cou'd not have wish'd for a more happy conjuncture for the compassing his designs, and he made use of it accordingly. He sent a subtle messenger named *Menichon*, to the two *English* lords, whom the herald had described to him, *Stanley* and *Howard*. These lords obtain'd an audience of the king of *England* for him. He acquitted himself perfectly Comines, l. 1. c. 7.

of

A. D 1475. of his commission, and convinced this prince of the little dependance he cou'd have upon the conneſtable and the duke of *Burgundy* ſo well, that he immediately order'd a paſs for the king's delegates in the buſineſs of a treaty, who, together with his own, met the next day in a village near *Amiens*, in order to a conference.

Du Tillet. Recuel de Traitez, &c. The conferences did not laſt long. A truce was agreed upon for ſeven Years, and a defenſive and offenſive league concluded between the two kings, who enter'd into mutual obligations, that in caſe of a civil war, the king of *France* ſhou'd not ſupport the *Engliſh* rebels, nor the king of *England* the *French* rebels; and for a ſtricter union between the two crowns, it was reſolved that *Charles* dauphin of *France* ſhou'd marry *Elizabeth* the king of *England*'s eldeſt daughter. Theſe were the heads of the treaty, which was ſign'd the 29th of *Auguſt*, *An.* 1475.

After this, the two kings came to *Pequigni*, where they had an interview, and great civilities paſſed between them. The king was glad to learn from the mouth of *Edward* himſelf, that he was very indifferent about the duke of *Burgundy*'s intereſts. He endeavour'd alſo to penetrate his ſentiments with regard to the duke of *Britanny*; but found, that he was not for having him moleſted; and the king of *England* expreſſed himſelf afterwards more fully to this purpoſe in the preſence of *du Bouchage* and *S. Pierre*, who had orders to diſcourſe him a-new upon this ſubject. The king obſerv'd the ſame meaſures upon this occaſion, with regard to the *Engliſh*, as he had ſeveral years before obſerved with regard to the *Caſtillian* lords, after the interview with the king of *Caſtille*; that is to ſay, he endeavour'd to gain the chief perſons in *Edward*'s council by bribery, and allotting them penſions in *France*; as the chancellor, the maſter of the horſe, *Haſtings*, *Howard*, *Montgomery*, *Chalanger*, and ſome others.

The conneſtable was no leſs concern'd at the truce, than the duke of *Burgundy*, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours with the two kings to prevent the concluſion of it, promiſing the king of *England* to deliver him up the places in his poſſeſſion, and aſſuring the king of *France* that he wou'd make an abſolute rupture with the duke of *Burgundy*. Hypo-

Hypocriſy may be uſeful for ſome time: But when it is conſtant, and of a long continuance, it can hardly be ſo well cloaked, as not to be diſcovered at laſt, and turn ſometimes to the diſadvantage of its author. The king being reſolved not to come behind-hand in cunning, made as if he was ready to hearken to the conneſtable's propoſals, and to fall into the ſnare he had laid for him; but with a deſign to intrap the inſnarer, and to have an opportunity of rendring him irreconciliable with the duke of *Burgundy*. The method he took to deſtroy his credit with this prince, ſo as that it might never revive again, was as follows: *A. D.* 1475.

In the midſt of the negotiations with the king of *England*, a gentleman called *Lewis de Creville*, and the conneſtable's ſecretary named *John Richer*, arrived at court. They open'd their buſineſs to *du Bouchage* and *Comines*. *Contay* alſo, a very conſiderable ſubject of the duke of *Burgundy*, was arrived. He was a priſoner of war upon parole, and was allowed to be ſometimes at the court of *France*, and ſometimes at that of *Burgundy*. Comines, l. 4. c. 8.

The king told him, he wou'd entertain him with a piece of comedy, where he ſhou'd hear ſomething that wou'd divert him, and order'd him to be carry'd into a chamber with *Comines* behind a ſcreen, whither he came ſoon after himſelf; and commanded *Creville* and *Richer* to be introduced, that he might give them audience. He order'd his chair to be placed cloſe to the ſcreen, having no body but *du Bouchage* with him.

The two envoys began with declaring to the king how much the conneſtable was concern'd to ſee the *Engliſh* in *France*; that he had ſent them both to the duke of *Burgundy*, to intreat him to break off his alliance with the king of *England*; that they had found the duke extremely exaſperated againſt this prince, for thinking of entring into a league with *France*; that they had endeavour'd to make uſe of this opportunity to perſuade him to return to his duty; and that he had almoſt promiſed them not only to renounce the alliance with the *Engliſh*, but alſo to fall upon them at their return to *Calais*, if they concluded the truce.

Creville ſeeing the king well pleaſed with the account, went on repreſenting the duke of *Burgundy* in ſuch

A. D. 1475. such a manner as render'd him ridiculous; repeating the injuries with which he had charged the king of *England* upon this occasion; how he was enraged, and stamp'd upon the floor, swearing by *S. George*. He put a hundred extravagancies into his mouth, and related several things, which shew'd the constable's contempt of him, and the little esteem and attachment he had for him, how much soever he might dissemble upon occasion.

The king, who was wonderfully pleased at all this, wou'd not let the conversation drop, but put several questions to *Creville*, in order to make him repeat some important particulars so often, that *Contay* might not forget them. The conference ended with the advice which the two envoys gave the king in the constable's name, to make a truce with the *English*. He knew the truce was already concluded, and answer'd, that he wou'd think of their propofal, and soon let the constable know his determination.

As soon as they were gone, *Comines* and *Contay* came from behind the screen: The latter cou'd hardly believe his own ears, and was struck with indignation against the constable, not only for the insolent relations that had been made in his name to the king against the duke of *Burgundy*, but also, because he knew he was actually upon a negotiation with the duke, to persuade him to prevent the truce, at the same time that he desired the king to agree to it. He was impatient of mounting, to carry his master an account of what had passed. Nor did they detain him long: He immediately wrote down all that he had heard, that nothing might escape his memory, and took leave of the king, who gave him credentials written with his own hand to the duke of *Burgundy*. This prince being inform'd of all particulars by *Contay*, swore he wou'd destroy the constable, and thought of nothing but treating with the king.

Accordingly, a truce of nine years was concluded between them at *Vevins*: But it was not published 'till after the king of *England* had repassed the sea, agreeably to the duke of *Burgundy*'s inclinations, that all the world might see, he had acted upon his own bottom in this treaty, and not in concert with the king of *England*. In a word, the constable was the bubble of

of all the intrigues for this year, and he richly deſerved it; nay, it coſt him his life. To this end came all his extravagant politicks, ſo fatal to the ſtate and intereſts of his ſovereign, and at laſt to himſelf. *A. D.* 1475.

Nothing was eaſier for the king than to convict him of treaſon. He had in his hands two letters, which the conneſtable had written to the king of *England*, to perſuade him to the wars againſt *France*. This prince provoked at his treatment of him in the affair of *S. Quintin*, had given them to the king, and inform'd him of all his intrigues. The only difficulty was, how to lay hold of him; and indeed this was hardly practicable, unleſs he did it in concert with the duke of *Burgundy*. At laſt, the king perſuaded the duke to join in it upon ſome very advantageous conditions he offer'd him. Comines, l. 4. c. 1.

Theſe conditions were, that he ſhou'd have *S. Quintin*, *Bohaim*, and all the towns and territories of the conneſtable lying within the bounds of his demeſne, with all his money and perſonal eſtate, wherever it lay. As ſoon as this treaty was concluded, they endeavour'd to lay hold of him; and this is the firſt time, ſays *Comines*, that theſe two princes acted in concert.

The conneſtable, who was always upon the watch, and ſtood now more than ever upon his guard, was informed by his ſpies in the two courts, of the deſign that was laid againſt his life and liberty. His ſureſt way had been to have fled into *Germany*, and waited a favourable conjuncture to recover the good graces of one of the two princes: But then in ſecuring his perſon, he wou'd have loſt all his goods and poſſeſſions, which was a circumſtance he cou'd not reſolve to ſubmit to.

At length he determined to throw himſelf into the arms of the duke of *Burgundy*, from whom he had reaſon to expect more favour than from the king. So he diſpatch'd a meſſenger, in whom he placed great confidence to entreat him to ſend him a paſs, for that he had ſomething to communicate to him, which required expedition, and was of the laſt importance to his government. Comines, l. 4. c. 2.

The duke was then at war with the duke of *Lorrain*, who had declared againſt him during the ſiege of *Nuis*,

A. D. 1475. *Nuis*, and actually before *Nancy*. At first, he made some difficulty to grant him a pass: But when he had consider'd better of it, he changed his mind, and sent him one; which the constable had no sooner received, than he set forward abruptly from *S. Quintin*, with only fifteen or twenty horse, and went to *Mons*.

As soon as the king got notice of the constable's departure, he came and appear'd before *S. Quintin*. The flight of this lord had so discouraged his friends, that they durst not make any opposition, and the town was surrender'd upon the first summons. This was the fatal stroke to the constable. For the king having possession of *S. Quintin*, had that which wou'd purchase his head of the duke of *Burgundy*; and this lord, having lost that place, had nothing left to make amends for the want of it. The king immediately informed the duke of *Burgundy* of the taking of *S. Quintin*, and insisted upon his seising the constable, and delivering him up to him according to one of the articles in the treaty agreed on between them. *Du Bouchage*, who was the bearer of the news concerning the taking of *S. Quintin*, laid the matter home to the duke of *Burgundy*.

The duke perplexed with the importunity of their demands, sent a private order to the lord of *Meriez*, grand bayliff of *Henault*, to keep a strict watch upon the constable, that he might not escape from *Mons*; but a month passed above the term of eight days before he endeavour'd to deliver him up unto the king, who in the mean time, to force him to perform his promise, took some steps that gave the duke a great deal of uneasiness.

The duke of *Lorrain* had repair'd to the court of *France*; and the duke of *Burgundy* was apprehensive, least the king shou'd take his part, and come to the succour of *Nancy*; and he had the more reason to be afraid of this, because the king, after the loss of *S. Quintin*, had sent a large body of soldiers into *Champagne*, and was himself advanced in person as far as *Verdun*.

Chronique scandaleuse.

The duke of *Burgundy* design'd, in all likelihood, to wait for the taking of *Nancy*, before he determined any thing with regard to the constable. He call'd a council

council of war, to know precisely the time that he should make himself master of this place, which was hard pressed. They told him, that if nothing extraordinary happen'd, it cou'd not hold out above a day longer than the time assign'd. *A. D.* 1475.

Upon this, he sent an order to *Hugonet* his chancellor, and the lord *Imbercourt* to carry the connestable to *Peronne*, and to deliver him to the king the same day that he reckon'd he shou'd take *Nancy*, resolving, in all appearance, to send them a contrary order, as soon as he became master of the place.

The chancellor and *Imbercourt*, who were both the connestables professed enemies, executed this order with dispatch, and he was transported to *Peronne*. *Nancy* was not taken at the time the duke expected; and the appointed day being come, *Imbercourt* and the chancellor deliver'd their prisoner into the hands of the bastard of *Bourbon*, admiral of *France*, and of the lord *S. Pierre*. *Comines* was afterwards assured, that a counter-order arrived three hours after; but the business being done, there was no remedy.

The parliament immediately prepar'd for the connestable's trial, who was condemned to be beheaded, and executed in the *Greve*, on *Tuesday* the 19th of *December*, *An. Dom.* 1475. He shewed a great deal of constancy and resignation, and more of the christian than cou'd have been expected from a man, who, during his whole life, had regulated his conduct by very different maxims from those of the gospel. Such was the end of *Lewis* of *Luxembourg*, count of *S. Pol*, and connestable of *France*; a man great in every thing, in mind, valour, prudence, military abilities, in birth, honours, riches, ambition, and deceit. Born a vassal to the king and duke of *Burgundy*, and not content with being esteemed, beloved, and loaded with honours, would also be feared by them; and which is too much for any person, how great and, powerful a lord soever, he undertook to keep the two powers in ballance. This was the end of all his private intrigues, to make himself considerable in the two courts. They lay long concealed from the two sovereigns, but were at last discover'd to his destruction. *Chronique Scandaleuse*

A. D. 1475. It was an advantage to the kingdom to be deliver'd from so dangerous a disposition as his, which had so long disturbed it, and was within a small matter of bringing a compleat desolation upon it, if the *English* had followed his counsels, and had not been discouraged by his knaveries. The office of connestable was dropp'd in *France* for all the rest of this reign; and *Charles* of *Melun* discharged the functions of it by commission.

In this death the king not only tasted the sweets of revenge, but also had the pleasure to see himself deliver'd from the only subject that was capable of giving him any disquiet: For the rest of the court was become very submissive; and he had obliged the *Bourbons*, who were the most to be fear'd, and the most inclined to revolt, with so many instances of beneficence, that they cou'd have no hopes of advancing themselves more by any other means than loyalty and due obedience to their sovereign.

Comines l. 5. c. 1. Excepting this, the duke of *Burgundy* reaped all the advantage of his treachery in delivering up the connestable, after he had promis'd him security by a pass. The king faithfully executed the articles of the treaty, and resigned up *S. Quintin*, *Ham* and *Bohain*, with all the connestable's moveables; among which his treasure, which was thought to be very great, did not amount to above 72000 Crowns.

The king had never yet seen his government in such tranquility. He was sure of the king of *England*, being well informed, that he was determined to pass the remainder of his days in rest, provided the duke of *Brittany* was not molested. This duke had renounced all his alliances against *France*, and had also enter'd into a defensive league with the king. Besides, there was a truce for nine years with the duke of *Burgundy*, and the king perceived he was upon the point of making himself some work in *Germany*, and was therefore less apprehensive of the affects of his inconstancy and inveterate hatred to *France*.

Invent de Chart. T. 3.

In truth the duke of *Burgundy* having got possession of *Nancy* and all *Lorraine*, thought of nothing but revenging himself of the *Suiss*, as he had reveng'd himself of the duke of *Lorraine*; for the irruptions they

they had made upon his territories, during the siege of *Nuis*, and of making himself amends for the loss of the earldom of *Ferette*, by the conquest of their country. *A. D.* 1475.

Revenge, and a desire to enlarge his possessions, were the true motives that put him upon this war; but the pretence of declaring against the *Suiss*, was their invasion of the territories of the count of *Romont*, uncle to the young duke of *Savoy*, for a very trifling provocation. They had seized divers castles, and *Grandson*, a little town upon the lake of *Neufchatel*. The count of *Romont* implored the duke of *Burgundy*'s assistance, who was then employed in the conquest of *Lorraine*. He promis'd him succour; and as soon as the war was over, endeavour'd to acquit himself of his engagement.

If we form a judgment from the several attempts, which the king made to prevent the duke of *Burgundy*'s entring upon this war, we cannot question its being disagreeable to him: But this is no very sure rule. For it was customary with him to take the most remote and opposite methods in appearance, to compass his designs. It was his true interest, as he well knew, that the duke of *Burgundy* shou'd find matter for his restless disposition to work upon elsewhere than in *France*, and that he shou'd only act under-hand to cross his enterprizes, and make them miscarry. Comines, l. 5. c. 1.

The duke of *Burgundy* raised a stately army; and to display his power and terrify *Germany*, he set forward at the head of his forces, with the most magnificent equipage he ever had.

The king in the mean time march'd up to the country, that was to be the seat of the war; and under the pretence of a pilgrimage to our lady *du Puy*, and a convocation of the clergy, which he called at *Lyons*, he entred that city with soldiers. From thence he dispatch'd a great number of private envoys, some in the guise of beggars, and others in that of pilgrims, as well to the duchess of *Savoy* as the duke of *Milan*, the king of *Sicily*, the *Suiss*, and the towns of *Germany*, in order to perswade the one to renounce the duke of *Burgundy*'s alliance, and to encourage the others to declare themselves, and make a vigo-

A. D. 1475. rous defence against him. Most of them gave him only a general answer; and the *Suiss* and the towns of *Germany*, that were in league with them, declared openly, that to prevent their impending ruin, they wou'd accommodate matters with the duke of *Burgundy*, unless the king wou'd begin, by breaking the truce he had concluded with him, and making a diversion to secure them from danger.

But this was by no means agreeable to the king's intention, who had no mind to be any farther concerned in the war, than in furnishing the *Suiss* and their allies with money. But the haughtiness, ambition, and resoluteness of the duke of *Burgundy*, effected that which the king, by all his negotiations, had in vain attempted. The submissions of the *Suiss*, and their making him the most advantageous offers, were not sufficient to appease him: Wherefore, seeing themselves reduced to a desperate condition, they resolved to sustain the war, let what wou'd be the event.

A. D. 1476. *Meyer.* *Chronique Scandaleuse.* The duke of *Burgundy* entred the field in *February*, with an army of about 16000 men. He took some castles, that were but ill defended by the *Suiss*, who were little used to maintain sieges. He sat down before *Grandson*, which surrendred at discretion, and placed a garrison in it. A body of 6000 *Suiss*, which arrived too late to succour the place, withdrew to *Yverdon*, whither the duke pursued them against the advice of his most experienced officers.

Olivier de la Marche. l. 2. chap. 5.

Hist. d' Orange. The *Suiss* had some days before seized some lanes, thro' which the *Burgundian* army was to pass, which upon the 2d of *March*, set forward in order to make themselves masters of them, the van-guard being commanded by *John* II. prince of *Orange*. The *Suiss* suffer'd the *Burgundians* to advance and engage themselves among the mountains; and as soon as they came in sight of the place where they were waiting for them, they discharged such a volley upon them from the right, the left, the front, and all the rocks where they lay in ambuscade, that a great number of the enemies were killed, and among others, some of the generals.

The rest were immediately seized with fear; and thinking of nothing but making their escape, fell foul upon

upon the battallion. in which the Duke of *Burgundy* was preſent; which being put into diſorder, took the alarm alſo, and in a moment communicated it to the rear in ſuch ſort, that the whole army, without having drawn a ſword, or ſeen the enemy, began to fly on all ſides. The duke in vain laboured to ſtop the fugitives, and was himſelf forced to eſcape with all ſpeed to *Joigné* upon the frontier of the earldom of *Burgundy*, and he was the fifth that arrived there, having made almoſt ſixteen leagues of *France* without drawing bit. *A. D.* 1476.

This was rather a rout than a defeat. The number of thoſe that were kill'd and taken priſoners was not very great; but all the artillery, baggage and fine equipage of the duke of *Burgundy* was the conquerors booty, which would have enrich'd ſeveral of them, if the poverty of their way of living before, would have permitted them to make a difference between things of value, and things of no worth. They took the plate for Pewter and ſold it accordingly; and a diamond of the Duke's, one of the fineſt in *Europe*, at the end of which hung a large pearl, was ſold for a florin, and afterwards loſt. Several precious ſtones of this Prince, which were but juſt collected, met with the ſame fate, and could never afterwards be found. Comines, l. 5. chap. 2.

The *Suiſs* after their victory marched to *Grandſon*, which ſurrendred. They treated the garriſon as the duke of *Burgundy* had treated theirs, when he took this town, by hanging up all the *Burgundians*.

The king received at account of this great news at *Puy*, when he was juſt going to *Lyons*. He knew how to act the hypocrite, and diſſemble his joy in publick. He received the lord of *Contay* with a great deal of courteſy, who came to wait upon him from the duke of *Burgundy*, to deſire him not to take advantage of his misfortune, promiſed him to obſerve the truce, and commanded him to aſſure the duke, that he need be under no apprehenſions upon his account.

This was meant only of making war againſt him; for in all other reſpects he took great advantage of the duke of *Burgundy*'s difficulties. The ſollicitations he had made to the cities of *Strasbourg*, *Baſil*,

A. D. 1476. and some others, to declare against the duke, had now their effect: *Nuremberg*, and *Frankfort* followed the example of *Strasbourg*, and *Basil*, and joined the *Suiss*: The duke of *Milan* renounced the duke of *Burgundy*'s alliance, and made a league with the king, which was proclaimed with great ceremony at *Lyons*. The king was reconciled with *René* king of *Sicily*, who had for some time been treating with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and had given him hopes that he would make him his heir to the earldom of *Provence*: But the Treaty was broken up, and the earldom some time after resigned to the king.

Observations sur les Memoires de Comines. Memorial de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris coté H. H. Fol. 257.

Notwithstanding all these terrible Accounts which the duke received one after another, he persisted in his resolution of being revenged upon the *Suiss*, drew his forces together again, and augmented them, entered the Territories of the *Suiss* at the head of 25000 men, and in *June* laid siege to the little town of *Morat*, four or five Leagues from *Fribourg*. The *Suiss* and their allies came up with all speed to encourage the garrison to make a stout defence in hopes of present succour.

The king raised up a new enemy against the duke of *Burgundy*, which was *René* duke of *Lorraine*, who having been deprived by him of his dukedom, was forced to lead a melancholy life in *France*. He furnished him with a large guard to conduct him to the army of the allies, and with a great Sum of Money to distribute among the *Suiss*. The young prince was received with great joy as the duke of *Burgundy*'s declared enemy, and the command of the army was adjudged to him by common consent.

Meyer. l. 17. *Chronique Scandaleuse.*

Nor was it long before he gave a proof that he was worthy of it. He attack'd the duke of *Burgundy*'s camp on the 22d of *June*, and forced it; between 13 and 14000 *Burgundians* were killed upon the spot, or drowned, upon their flight, in the lake of *Morat*. The duke forced to make his escape, arrived at *Joigné* in almost the same condition as he had done after the battle of *Grandson*: From thence he took the road for *Besançon*, more concerned to think of defending his country, than of any future attack upon his enemies.

And

And indeed the *Suiſs* and *Germans* being deſirous of making the duke of *Lorrain* ſome ackowledgment for the obligations they lay under to him, preſented him with the duke of *Burgundy*'s artillery, which they had taken, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dukedom. *A. D.* 1476. Comines, l. 5. chap. 5.

Duke *René* followed the track his good fortune pointed out to him, and entred *Lorraine*: *Epinal*, and *Vaudemont*, and ſome other towns declared for him; all the plain country revolted in favour of him; and the duke of *Burgundy* had none but *Nancy* and *Pont-a-Mouſſon*, that he could depend upon.

His new defeat at *Morat* produced the ſame effects with that at *Grandſon*, *viz.* to deprive him of his allies. *Jolande* of *France*, the king's ſiſter, dutcheſs and regent of *Savoy*, a Princeſs of great abilities, had always endeavour'd to carry fair with the king her brother, and the duke of *Burgundy*, without depending very much upon either of them; but leſs upon the king than the duke, with whom ſhe had conſtantly lived in ſtrict amity; and as his pretence of making war upon the *Suiſs*, was founded upon their invading the territories of *Savoy*, ſhe had made a cloſe alliance with him, and furniſhed him with ſoldiers.

She was by no means ignorant of the king's diſpleaſure at this Treaty, and ſome time after the battle of *Grandſon*, ſhe ſent the lord of *Montigni* to him, not ſo much for the ſake of negociating with him, as to diſcover how he ſtood affected to her. The king gave him a kind reception, and told him, that provided the dutcheſs would ſincerely abandon the duke of *Burgundy*'s intereſt, ſhe ſhould meet all the aſſiſtance ſhe could hope for at the court of *France*, againſt thoſe that attempted to diſturb her regency. In the mean time happen'd the battle at *Morat*, and as ſoon as the envoy of *Savoy* received the news of the duke of *Burgundy*'s defeat, he told the king that he had orders from the dutcheſs to treat with him.

The duke of *Burgundy* was ſo much the more exaſperated upon this occaſion, becauſe he pretended to have engaged himſelf in this unfortunate war in favour of the houſe of *Savoy*. He knew that the dutcheſs was to come to *Geneva*, and reſolved to ſeize her there. For this purpoſe he gave an order to

A. D. 1476. *Olivier de la Marche*, who executed it: But the young duke of *Savoy* escaped him, being saved by the lord *de la Marche*'s own men, who were *Savoyards*, and cou'd not permit themselves to make their prince a prisoner. The dutchess was obliged to follow *Olivier de la Marche*, who took her behind him. He made her travel all night, and carried her to the duke of *Burgundy*, and from thence she was transported to the castle of *Rouvre* near *Dijon*. This was a stroke of the impetuous vivacity of the duke of *Burgundy*, but it was of no service to him; for she was soon after released by *Charles d' Amboise*, lord of *Chaumont*, who was governor of *Champaigne*.

Olivier de la Marche, l. 2. chap. 8.

She went to wait upon the King at *Tours*, who at her landing, saluted her in these words; *Welcome, Madam the Burgundian.* She perceiv'd plainly by the tone of the king's voice, that he designed both to banter and reproach her; and answer'd, that she was a good french-woman, and ready to obey him in every respect. The discourse was attended with great marks of friendship on both sides. The treaty of alliance was put in writing and signed; the dutchess returned to her government with great satisfaction, and kept her engagement with the king, and afterwards they lived in a good correspondence together.

Thus every thing contributed to increase the duke of *Burgundy*'s affliction. But he had another motive of concern, which touched him no less sensibly, *viz.* the loss of *Nancy*, which the duke of *Lorraine* for some time besieged, and took it with much difficulty on the 16th of *October*.

Two days after, the duke of *Burgundy* appeared before the Town, with an army which he had drawn together in order to relieve it, and made all the attempts possible to engage the duke of *Lorraine* to a battle; but that prince being not so strong as his enemy, declined it.

The duke of *Burgundy* not succeeding in his design, laid siege to the town three weeks after it had been taken, contrary to the opinion of most of his council, who advised him to employ his Soldiers in the recovery of the little suburbicary towns, to block up *Nancy*, where the duke of *Lorraine* had not had time

time to lay in much provision: But this prince was hurried on to his ruin, or rather, to make use of the moral of the historians of those times, God saw fit to punish his pride and infidelity, by leaving him to his own rash disposition, and suffering him to be betrayed in the very same place where he had consented to deliver up the connestable of *S. Pol*, after he had given him his word that he should be safe. *A. D.* 1476.

He had for one of his lieutenant-generals a *Neapolitan* lord named *Campobasso*, banished from his own Country, because he had always declar'd for the *Angevine* party. He was a wretch, who, notwithstanding the duke of *Burgundy* had loaded him with kindnesses, held a secret correspondence with the duke of *Lorraine*, from the first siege of *Nancy*, and had promised him to do all that lay in his power to lengthen out the siege. He made more than one offer also to the king, to deliver him up the duke alive or dead. Some writers endeavour to lessen his crime, by ascribing it to his resentment, for a blow which the duke gave him for insisting too vehemently against his making war upon the duke of *Lorraine*; and the ness with which he continued his Application to ffflidestroy the duke of *Burgundy*, renders the matter probable. But be that as it will, the king abhorred his treachery, and sent the duke of *Burgundy* an account of it; but this duke mistrusting the king more than any man in the world besides, look'd upon it as an artifice to induce him to destroy one of the best of his Officers. He said, that if it was true, the king would not have told him of it; and upon these considerations he put more confidence in *Campobasso* than ever. Comines. chap. 13 *Paul Emile.* An. 1477.

In the mean time this traitor intrigued with the besieged to lengthen out the siege, and gave the duke of *Lorraine* time to assemble an army of 13 or 14000 men, as well *Suiss* as *Germans*, by means of the king's furnishing him under-hand with money, and to come up with this army to *S. Nicolas*, two leagues from *Nancy*. Comines chap. 7. *Chronique Scandaleuse.*

The duke of *Burgundy*'s army was at that time reduced to 4000 men by the rigour of the season, which was very severe during the months of *November* and *December*: Of this small number many were sick

A. D. 1477. sick, so that the duke had hardly 1500 men fit for service. Every body but himself would in such a conjuncture have made no scruple to raise the siege; but the duke of *Burgundy* had no notion of moderate resolutions, especially when he thought his glory concerned. The count *Campobasso* made his court to him, by encouraging him to stick to it, and putting him in remembrance of the siege of *Nuis*, where, with not above a third part of the enemy's army, he had triumph'd over the whole force of the empire.

The count's advice was followed, because it was agreeable to the prince's rash mind, who was however soon undeceiv'd, and convinc'd of the treachery of this traitor by a fatal experience; for he deserted the same day with 140 men of arms and all their train, to go join the duke of *Lorraine*, and the next day two other officers did the same with 120 men of arms.

Campobasso had taken another precaution when he deserted, *viz.* to leave some of his correspondents among the *Burgundian* troops, who were to recoil at the first onset, and begin the defeat: others had orders to stick close to the duke of *Burgundy*, and if they could not make him a prisoner, to kill him in the flight.

Such was the conspiracy formed against this prince, who mistrusted nothing, thought only of choosing a post where to attend the enemy, and to supply his want of numbers by the advantage of situation. He went out of his lines, and seated himself upon a river, the banks of which were defended by two thick hedges; he placed the greatest part of his artillery upon a little hill, which commanded the great road thro' which the enemy was to march, and attended them with an appearance of great resolution.

Chronique Scandaleuse

The fifth of *January*, which fell on a sunday, the eve of the epiphany, the duke of *Lorraine* appeared at the head of his army in sight of the *Burgundian* camp. It was divided into two bodies, one of which consisting of *Suiss*, marched thro' the great road, and was exposed to the discharge of the duke of *Burgundy*'s Artillery, but suffer'd little by it, because of the great distance between them.

The

The *Suiſs* to avoid a ſecond volley, march'd to the left, and going by the ſide of a little wood, got upon an eminence to the right of the *Burgundian* camp. This motion, which the duke of *Burgundy* was not aware of, obliged him to alter the diſpoſition of his forces, who loſt the advantage of being covered with the river, and had nothing left but their valour to protect them. *A. D.* 1477.

Aſſoon as the *Suiſs* had taken breath, they deſcended from the hill to go and attack the *Burgundians*; and when they came within reach of them, let fly ſuch a terrible diſcharge of harquebuſes upon them, that ſeveral of them fell to the earth, and the reſt were ſcared and took to their heels.

The *Burgundian Gend-armes*, tho' but ſmall in number, and deſerted by their infantry, ſtood firm for ſome time; but another body of the allies, who had poſted themſelves by the river, turning upon them, they were beſet, and obliged to fly at random. Almoſt all this little body periſhed either upon the ſpot, or in their flight, and ſeveral were knock'd at head by the country people; a vaſt number of lords and gentlemen were kill'd or taken.

The duke of *Lorraine* hearing no news of the duke of *Burgundy*, and being inform'd that he had not paſſed thro' *Metz*, whither it was natural for him to eſcape, made no doubt but he was kill'd, and ordered ſearch to be made for him among the dead, where he was not to be found; but *Campobaſſo* ſent him a page of an *Italian* lord, who deſcribed to him the place whither the duke of *Burgundy* had marched after the defeat; there they found him all naked, lying upon his belly, his face cloſe by a piece of ice of the marſh where he had expired.

He was wounded in three places; in one with an halbert which had ſplit his jaw; in the others with two thruſts of a pike, one of which had pierced his two thighs from ſide to ſide, and the other had entred his fundament.

The duke of *Lorraine* ordered him to be tranſported to *Nancy*, where he was laid upon a bed of ſtate, in a room hung with black velvet. This prince came to pay him the uſual honours with a golden beard reaching down to his girdle. This was done, ſays one

A. D. 1477. one of our old historians of that time, in sign of a victory, and according to the custom of the ancient worthies. Before he gave him the holy water, he took him by the hand, and addressed him in these words, *God rest your soul, , you have given us a great deal of trouble and grief.*

This prince had the misfortune to be lamented by no body; his savage humour had made him a stranger to all friendly commerce; a hard and imperious master, more feared than beloved by his courtiers and subjects: prosperity had render'd him intractable, presumptuous, and incapable of advice; adversity discover'd new faults in him, without correcting the old ones. After the defeat of *Grandson* he was always melancholy, humoursome, restless, more passionate and precipitate than ever. So many ill qualities were not wholly without some good ones. He was incapaple of fear, proof against the most excessive fatigues, of great application to business, of a ready and penetrating judgment, liberal and magnificent. He was sober and chaste, but more by constitution than out of a principle of virtue. He was of a middle stature, and a disagreeable countenance, and his Physiognomy answer'd to his natural fierceness, if the picture which I have seen of him in the cabinet of a curious gentlemen, be a true one. He was kill'd in the 44th year of his age, and the 10th of his reign, which was as fatal to his subjects, as that of his predecessors had been beneficial to them.

Portrait du Duc de Bourgogne au Cabinet de M. de Gagnieres.

The king was at *Tours* under very uneasy apprehensions about the success of this battle; for he knew the *Suiss* were arrived at *S. Nicolas*, with design to attack the duke of *Burgundy*. As *Lewis* XI. had settled the use of posts, which till then were unknown to *France*, he had soon an account of the duke of *Burgundy*'s defeat, by a courier whom *George de la Trimouille*, that commanded upon the frontiers of *Lorraine*, dispatched away to him, but without any assurance of his death. This was a circumstance of the most importance, and supposing the flying report of it be true, there was need of expedition; upon this account he dispatched the admiral de *Bourbon* and *Comines* away that same day with orders to open the letters of any couriers they should meet upon the road,

Comines chap. 11.

road, and empower'd them to receive in his name all the towns and vaſſals of the duke of *Burgundy*, that were willing to ſubmit to his authority, provided the duke was dead. *A. D.* 1477.

Theſe two lords had not travelled half a day's Journey before they met the poſt that brought a confirmation of the prince's death. Upon this they put on with all poſſible ſpeed to gain the fontier of *Picardy*. They arrived at the ſuburbs of *Abbeville*, which was one of the towns which *Charles* VII. had reſigned to *Philip* duke of *Burgundy* in the treaty of *Arras*, upon condition that it ſhould revert to the crown in default of heirs male in the houſe of *Burgundy*. They found that the lord of *Torcy* had already treated about the ſurrender of this place, and aſſoon as they appeared the matter was concluded.

Comines having in vain endeavoured to perſuade *Arras* to do the ſame, did not however loſe all the fruit of his journey, for he gained over ſeveral lords and gentlemen, who were afterwards good ſervants to the king. *Ham*, *Bohaim*, *Mondidier*, *Montreuil*, and *S. Quintin* followed the example of *Abbeville*; and as ſoon as the king arrived, who immediately followed his envoys in perſon, *Peronne* was deliver'd up to him. *Chronique Scandaleuſe.* Comines, cap. 12.

Matters could not have taken a better turn. They were aſſured that *Philip de Crevecœur*, lord of *Cordes*, * a gentleman of the greateſt authority in *Picardy* had declared for the king; ſeveral lords of *Haynault* were ready to do the ſame, and had already given their word's for it. * Several hiſtorians call him des Querdes.

Theſe good diſpoſitions, alter'd the king's deſign, and prevented him from purſuing the ſcheme he had propoſed ſome time before, in caſe he ſurvived the duke of *Burgundy*, by which he would have rendred his power formidable to all *Europe*.

According to this project, he deſigned to have married the *Dauphin* to *Mary* the heireſs of *Burgundy*, who in the unhappy ſituation of her affairs, her ſtates being entirely naked, at the mercy of the king of *France*, without money, ſoldiers, or any ſupport, wou'd not have cared to refuſe the propoſal, notwithſtanding the diſproportion of age; for ſhe was twenty one, and the *Dauphin* had but juſt entered

A. D. 1477. ed his 7th year. But when the king knew what motions were made in his favour in the low countries, and how readily the towns of *Picardy* were reduced, he hoped to deprive the heiress of *Burgundy* of a great part of her states, and to dispose of the other provinces of the low countries, that did not hold of her, in favour of divers native or *German* lords, of whom he would raise himself so many creatures, and such as would readily assist him upon these conditions, in the execution of his design. By this means he had ruined the power of the house of *Burgundy*, which had for so long a time been formidable to *France*.

The king pursuing this project, judged that one way to farther the success of it, was to raise a civil war in *Flanders*, and to excite the *Flemins* to a revolt against *Mademoiselle de Burgundy*, for thus *Mary*, heiress of the late duke, was called. *Olivier de la Marche* observes, that this title was given her, and not that of *Madam*, because duke *Charles* her father was not the son of a king. The king depended particularly upon the *Gantois*, a people that had at all times been very untoward to their princes. They had lost several of their privileges by their revolts, and were in hopes of recovering them again upon this change of government. This was the handle by which the king design'd to bring about his matters; and it was so much the more dangerous for *Mary* of *Burgundy*, because she was in their town, at their discretion, and they had already committed some extraordinary acts of violence since the duke's death.

Memoires de la Marche l. 1. c. 33.

To manage this intreague, he pitch'd upon *Olivier le Dain*, who had formerly been his barber, but by strength of parts had raised himself at court to the government of *Meulan*. It was upon this account that he took the title of count of *Meulan* in his embassy to *Gant*: But as he had been born in a village near *Gant*, he was soon discovered, and his title of count served only to make him ridiculous. The *Gantois* treated him with great contempt, and he could make nothing of the business; but this disappointment was abundantly recompensed by taking of *Tournay*, which he surprized by concerting matters with the lord *de Mouy*, who was at *S. Quintin* with some forces.

Observations sur les Memoires de Comines.

forces. They put a large garriſon in it, which began to make irruptions into the neighbouring Provinces. *A. D.* 1477.

Mary of *Burgundy*, who by all the king's ſteps, ſaw plainly, that it was his intention to deprive her of her inheritance, imagined he had no other view in doing this, but to oblige her to marry the *Dauphin*; and ſhe reſolved to comply rather than expoſe herſelf to ruin. She ſent an ambaſſy to the king upon this affair, which conſiſted of *Hugonet* her chancellor, the lords *d' Imbercourt*, *de la Vere*, *de Grutuſe*, and ſeveral others, both of the nobility and clergy.

The king received them at *Peronne*, but endeavour'd rather to gain them, than negotiate with them. The chancellor and *Imbercourt*, who had great eſtates in *Picardy*, were the eaſieſt to be work'd upon, and promiſed to ſwear no more to the dutcheſs, and to enter into his ſervice, as ſoon as the marriage was concluded with the *Dauphin*; for they ſtill ſuppoſed that this was the king's intention, and every one of them thought to make their court by ſhewing a forwardneſs for the marriage: But the king let them ſee the contrary, without declaring himſelf however upon the matter.

In the mean time he made *Cordes* deliver him up old *Arras*, which is a great part of the preſent city, ſeparated from the reſt by a ditch and a wall. This noble *Picard*, whoſe whole territories after the death of the duke of *Burgundy*, ſubmitted to the king, took an oath of allegiance to him, and was confirmed in the government he had held under the duke of *Burgundy*, that is to ſay, in thoſe of *Ponthieu*, *Crotoy*, *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, *Roye*, *Boulogne*, and *Hedin*: The king made himſelf maſter alſo of *Bouchain*, and went to ſit down before *Arras*.

This town not only made a vigorous defence, but alſo the populace, out of their conſtant hatred to the *French*, committed ſeveral inſolences upon the rampart in ſight of the king's army, to affront them; but thoſe inſults coſt them dear. The city was forced to ſurrender, ſeveral of the citizens were beheaded, others baniſhed; and the king as a farther mark of his indignation, undertook to change the name of the city, giving it the appellation of *Franchiſe*, or *Francie*,

as

A. D. 1477. as it is called in several publick acts of that time: But it is an old saying, that kings who are masters of every thing, are not arbiters of speech; for the name of *Arras* has ever since continued, notwithstanding the decree of this prince.

At the time of the conquest of *Arras*, *Chauvin*, chancellor of *Brittany* arrived at the camp, to assure the king of the fidelity of the duke his master, who after the death of the duke of *Burgundy*, was more sollicitous than ever to renew these kind of protestations; but the chancellor was greatly surprized, when, being hardly dismounted, he saw himself and all his attendants seized in the king's name.

Argentré. Hist. de Bretagn. l. 12.

Twelve days after, the king ordered him to be brought into his presence, and asked him, Master chancellor, do you guess the reason why I had you seized? No, Sire, answer'd he; but I imagine that some false account has been given you to the disadvantage of my master, and I assure you upon my life, that nothing has been transacted against your interest. That's a bold assertion reply'd the king, for I have enough in my hands to convince you of the contrary; and at the same time threw upon the table 22 original letters, 12 of them written by the duke of *Brittany*'s Secretary, and ten others of the king of *England*, which he caused to be read to him, in which this prince, at the duke's intreaty, promised, upon the first motions of *France* against *Brittany*, to make a descent upon *France* by *Calais*.

The chancellor had nothing to answer, save that he owned the hands to be those of the king of *England*, and the duke his master, but as for himself he had not been concerned in the matter of which those letters treated. I believe you, reply'd the king, because I know you to be a good man; but you see that I had reason to lay hold of you. Take the letters and carry them to your master; tell him it is in vain to amuse me with his compliments, and that I advise him to behave after another manner.

The chancellor at his return to *Brittany* strangely surprized the duke, when he laid before him all these letters, who immediately suspected the person he had made use of to treat with the king of *England*.

It

It was one *Landois* * a man sprung from nothing, who had raised himself by his art and contrivance, and long governed the duke of *Brittany*. *A. D.* 1477.

This prince sent for him, and asked him how those letters came into the king of *France*'s hands: *Landois* was so scared at the sight of them, that at first he lost his voice; but being come to himself, he said they must have been betrayed by the man he had entrusted to carry them, which was one *Maurice Gourmel*; who upon this information, was seized when he was upon the point of departing again for *England*, to carry another packet thither.

* Thus he call'd himself, and not Landois, as d'Argentré calls him. I have seen a Letter written with his own Hand, signed Landois.

He confess'd the whole matter, and acknowleged that he had suffer'd himself to be corrupted by one of the king of *France*'s spies; that this spy came from *Cherbourg*, and was a perfect master of the art of counterfeiting hands and seals; that he gave him all the letters he had received for the king of *England*, and that prince's answers; that after this falsifier had copied them, he kept them and sent them to the king of *France*, returning him only the copies, but so well counterfeited, that every body would take them for the originals; and lastly, that for every letter they gave him an hundred crowns. This was a full justification of *Landois*. The king did not seem disposed to push the matter any farther, because he had a mind to finish the affair of the *Low Countries* first, which I am now going to resume.

The king had gain'd all the conquests above mentioned before the 25th of *May*, and made account to extend them much farther by means of the *Flemmish* divisions, which he continued to foment. *Chronique Scandaleuse* Comines, c. 16.

The *Gantois* having seized their princess, and keeping her as a prisoner, extorted from her whatever they pleased. They obliged her to treat of affairs with a council they had form'd her, consisting of some members of the three estates. And as the embassy, I before spoke off, was without effect, they resolved she should send other ambassadors of their chusing to the king. They gave her hopes of succeeding in their negotiation, and assured her, that if it proved otherwise, they would make the last efforts, at the expence of their lives and fortunes, to defend her against the *French*.

A. D. 1477. These ambassadors arrived at the camp before *Arras*, when the town was hard pressed by the king. Most of them were citizens of *Gant*, incapable of such an important function, as the king perceived at first sight. They began with intreating him not to oppress their princess; told him, among other things, that she was affected to *France* in a very different manner from her father; that she no longer govern'd herself by the advice of persons, who till then had fomented the war between the two nations, but by that of the states of *Flanders*, who were not much behind the *French*, in hating the *Burgundians*.

The king interrupted them at these words: You are imposed upon, says he to them; you are hearkned to in appearance, but in reallity your princess acts only by instruction from those who governed her father, and desires nothing less than peace: Though you labour ever so much in it, you will always be denied.

They replied that they were sure of the contrary. And I, answers the king, have that in my hands which will convince you of the truth of what I say. Immediately he orders the letter, which the chancellor and *Imbercourt* had presented him at *Peronne*, to be read to them. In this letter the princess desired the king to rely intirely upon the chancellour and *Imbercourt*; and told him, that it was her intention that all her affairs shou'd be managed by these two men, in whom she placed a great confidence, and by the dutchess *Dowager* and the lord of *Raveſtein*; and that whatever he thought fit to communicate to her concerning his intentions, shou'd be addressed to them, and no body else.

There was no need of any farther particulars to make the deputies forget all their instructions: They thought of nothing else but revenging themselves for the affront, that had been put upon them, and desired the king to give them the letter, he had had the goodness to shew them. He wou'd have been very sorry, if they had not demanded it; and made it a matter of great merit to trust them with it. They entred no farther into the affair, but took leave of the king to return to *Gant*.

The king was well pleased that he had thrown this new seed of discord among the *Flemmings*, attended the

the effect of it, and continued his intrigues and his progreſs in the *Low Countries* and *Burgundy*. *A. D.* 1477.

As ſoon as the deputies were returned to *Gant*, a council was aſſembled. And he that was appointed to make the report of the negotiation, began in a very ſevere manner to exaggerate the injury done to the *States*, by thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to provide for the publick ſecurity; that they were conſulted only for ridicule, while every thing was tranſacted by the ſecret intrigues of warm perſons, and ſuch as made their advantage of betraying the ſtate. Comines, cap. 7.

The Princeſs, who aſſured herſelf the king had not delivered her letter to ſuch ſcoundrels as theſe, interrupted the deputy with ſome warmth, and proteſted that what he had advanced was utterly falſe. But the recorder of *Gant* producing the letter, preſented it to her, and ſaid, read *Mademoiſelle*. The whole aſſembly were ſhock'd at his giving the lye in ſo brutiſh and publick a manner to the princeſs. She was confounded, and being unable to make any anſwer broke up the aſſembly, more inraged againſt the king than the deputies.

Next the dutcheſs, this affair moſt nearly touch'd the chancellor and *Imbercourt*, againſt whom the citizens ſeemed to have the greateſt reſentment. They had thoughts of making their eſcape; but were ſtopp'd and brought to their tryal before the tribunal of the judges of *Gant*, *viz.* before thoſe who were parties in the affair, and condemned to be beheaded. They appealed to the parliament of *Paris*, as the ſeat of juſtice of the king, the ſovereign lord of *Flanders*. But notwithſtanding their appeal, it was declared that they ſhou'd be allowed only three hours to provide for their ſouls.

The princeſs left no ſtone unturn'd to ſave their lives. She ſpared neither promiſes, ſolicitations, nor prayers, but to no purpoſe. They were carried to the place of execution, whither ſhe came in a mourning attire, with her hair looſe, and only a handkerchief upon her head, and ſpoke to the people. At this ſpectacle, they made an inſurrection, drew their ſwords, and began to range themſelves in order for battle, but the inraged party were the ſtrongeſt, and the intimidated executioners ſtruck off their two heads

A. D. 1477. in sight of the princess, who return'd to her palace in a very disconsolate condition.

This execution was followed with a general disturbance in the City; where there was no more submission. The *Gantois* cou'd not have served the king better than by this conduct. Several lords and gentlemen, seeing themselves ill treated by the populace, and on the other hand sollicited by the king, declared for him. During this interval he was received at *Cambray:* But as that was then an imperial town, he did not think proper to leave a garrison there, for fear of offending the emperor.

Chronique scandaleuse

Such was the unhappy situation of princess *Mary* at that time in the *Low Countries;* nor did her affairs go any better in the dutchy of *Burgundy*. *John* II. prince of *Orange*, had suffer'd himself to be tempted by the advantageous conditions which the king offer'd him; and by means of the power he had in *Burgundy*, surrendred *Dijon*, and all the rest of the towns in the dutchy, and several in the earldom to him: But perceiving that the king mistrusted him, and having some suspicion that he wou'd not stand to the promises he had made him, he grew very uneasy, and hearkned to the solicitations of the princess by the lieutenant general in the two *Burgundies*, where he gave the king a great deal of trouble the following year.

Comines l. 6. c. 1. Histoire d' Orange.

After all, the extravagance of the *Gantois* was not generally imitated, and the king's emissaries did not succeed equally in all towns of the *Low Countries*. *S. Omers* continued loyal to *Mary* of *Burgundy*, and shut their gates upon the *French* troops. The lords of *Hanault*, who at *Comines*'s instances had at first offer'd their service to the king, being upon some occasion disgusted at him, alter'd their resolution. *Bruxelles* and the other remote towns from the frontiers of *France* were in perfect tranquillity: But those that better understood the interests of princes, were above all things surprized at the conduct of *Edward* king of *England*, who at this conjecture did not make the least motion.

Olivier de la Marche, l. 2. c. 9.

There is no doubt but it was his interest to prevent the growth of the *French* power, especially in the *Low Countries*, and in particular in the neighbourhood

bourhood of *Calais*, where the king had already got possession of *Boulogne*, by exchange with *Bertrand de la Tour* earl of *Auvergne*. The commons as well as the lords murmured openly at it in *England*; but the same reasons that had produced a peace between the two kings two years before, were still of force, and prevented *Edward* from engaging in a new war upon this occasion. *A. D.* 1477. Thresor des charte. cité par S. Mar. Comines l. 6. c. 2.

The love of tranquillity, in which that prince had resolved to pass the rest of his life, 50000 *Ecus d' or* which the king paid him down punctually every year; the vehement desire which both he and the queen of *England* had to marry their daughter to the *Dauphin*, as had been agreed by an article of the treaty at *Pequigni*, and the large sums of money which *Lewis* distributed among the council of *England*, most of whom were his pensioners, were the reasons that kept *Edward* quiet, and the manner in which *Lewis* made use of these means was a master piece of his politicks: To which may be added, *Mary* of *Burgundy*'s refusal to marry count *Rivers*, brother to the queen of *England*, because he was not a prince.

In the mean time, notwithstanding the troubles of the court of *Burgundy*, there was an affair carrying on, which was of the utmost importance for the welfare of that state, *viz.* to procure a husband for this princess. The *Dauphin* was no longer in the question: The king's indifference upon this article had made the *Flemmings* lay aside the designs which several of them had had upon this young prince. There were many pretenders to her; but as the *Dauphin* was no more of the number, the arch-duke *Maximilian* of *Austria*, one of the warmest competitors, had no great difficulty to carry it from the rest; and after many intrigues and negotiations, it was concluded that he was the properest person to make a husband for this princess.

The marriage was solemnized on the 18th of *August*, with great magnificence at the princess's expence: For the Emperor *Frederick*, whose avarice had like to have prevented this marriage, so important for the establishment of the power of his house, would disburse nothing out of his treasury for the carrying on of the affair. The king then plainly acknowledged Notes sur les Memoires d' Olivier de la Marche.

A. D. 1477. ed his great miſtake in ſuffering ſo puiſſant a ſtate to ſlip him, which he might have added to his family, by the marriage of his ſon with *Mary* of *Burgundy*, which ſhe her ſelf had propoſed to him by advice of the graveſt of her council: And he wou'd have repented it with much more regret, if he cou'd have foreſeen the troubles, which the prodigious grandeur of the houſe of *Auſtria*, begun by this marriage, wou'd in time bring upon that of *France*.

The firſt effect of this alliance, was to ſtop the progreſs of the king's conqueſts. *Maximilian* came and incamped at *Douay* at the head of an army of *Flemmings*. Upon this the king propoſed a Truce, which was accepted, upon condition of reſtoring *Queſnoy* and *Bouchain*, and leaving *Cambray* to enjoy its former neutrality. This treaty was ſigned at *Leuze*, *Sept.* 18.

Memoires de la Marche, l. 2. c. 9.

It was not long, however, before new hoſtilities broke out. The king took *Condé*; and hearing of the archduke's approach to recover it, he reduced both that and *Mortagne* to aſhes. During theſe tranſactions, the king of *England* and pope *Sixtus* IV. offer'd themſelves as mediators, which produced a new ſuſpenſion of arms in the *Low Countries*, but not in *Burgundy*, where the prince of *Orange* gave the *French* a great diverſion. By his means ſeveral towns return'd to their obedience to the dutcheſs of *Burgundy*. He beat *la Tremouille* at *Dole*, and took away his artillery. Upon this bad ſucceſs, and the complaints that were made of his extortions, he was recalled, and *Charles d' Amboiſe*, lord of *Chaumont* ſent to ſupply his place; who, with the aſſiſtance of the *Suiſs*, reſtored matters to ſo good a poſture, that there were only ſome caſtles remaining that held out for the dutcheſs. A truce alſo was concluded for one year with *Burgundy*.

Chronique ſcandaleuſe Memoires de la Marche. *An.* 1478.

Comines, l. 6. c. 4.

Such was the king's diſpoſition, that the truce found him little leſs employment than the war. For want of military expeditions, he was always buſy in ſome negotiation or pilgrimage, the motive to which was not always pure devotion. He made frequent journies to *Montils* in *Touraine*, not ſo much to enjoy the pleaſure of a retirement, as to ſeat himſelf in the center of his kingdom, to have a cloſer eye upon the duke

Chronique ſcandaleuſe. Notes ſur les Memoires de la Marche.

duke of *Brittany*'s ſteps, and the conduct of the people of *Guyenne* and *Gaſcony*. *A. D.* 1478.

The death of the dutcheſs of *Savoy*, which happen'd the ſame year, obliged him moreover to direct his views thither, in favour of the young duke his nephew, during whoſe minority this ſtate was govern'd according to the regulations preſcrib'd by him.

He intereſted himſelf alſo in the affairs of *Italy*, where the *Florentines* had a warm quarrel with the pope. He took the *Florentine*'s part, and threatned the pope with the pragmatical ſanction: But by the emperor's mediation matters were accomodated.

The king moreover negotiated with great eagerneſs at the *Pyrenées*, to perſuade *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, king of *Caſtille*, by his wife *Iſabel*, to renounce the alliance they had concluded with the king of *England* and the archduke. He brought the matter about, and gain'd this king and queen over to his Intereſts, upon condition of his own renouncing the alliance he had made with the king of *Portugal* and *Jane*, who diſputed the kingdom of *Caſtille* with *Iſabel*, under pretence of being daughter to the late king *Caſtille*, *Henry* IV. who was generally thought incapable of having children.

Chroniques Scandaleuſes Mariana l. 23. c. 4.

At the ſame time that the king was drawing off *Caſtille* from the archduke and the king of *England*, he treated with the latter for ſuch a continuance of the truce, as might be equivalent to a peace: For by this treaty the truce was not only to continue for the life of theſe two princes, but alſo for an hundred years after the death of the ſhorteſt liver. This truce was concluded.

Recueil de Traitez par Leonard.

Thus the king with a great deal of art weaken'd his principal enemy, the archduke, by drawing off all his allies, and put himſelf into a condition of making head againſt him, without any fear of a diverſion for the future. After all, notwithſtanding the precautions he had taken, he choſe to appear more deſirous of peace than war: And perhaps his intentions were agreeable to the appearance; for the fatigues and cares of government, which always lay heavieſt upon his own ſhoulders, began to impair his health; and *Comines*, at his return from *Florence*, whi-

A. D. 1479. ther he had been sent upon account of the Differences between the pope and the *Florentines*, having not seen him for a twelve-month, found him extremely broke.

Comines, l. 6. c. 6. Olivier de la Marche, l. 2. c. 9. *A.* 1479. Invent. des chart. T. 4.

The troubles in *Burgundy* were again renewed, and the enemy had lost the little that remain'd there. *Besançon* itself had treated with the king, and the town was surrendred up into *the protection and possession of the king* by articles of agreement concluded at *Valesan*, *July* 3. The archduke having a mind to make himself amends in the *Low Countries* for the losses he had sustained in *Burgundy*, came and sat down before *Terouene*. *S. Andre*, who was governour of that town, gave *Cordes*, governor of *Picardy*, time to draw together some forces to come and relieve the place.

The archduke went to meet him as far as *Guinegate*. *Des Cordes* accepted the offer of battle; immediately charged the enemies horse, which was almost all on the van-guard, with his own cavalry, put them entirely to the rout, pursued them as far as *Aire*, and made a great slaughter of them.

The *Flemmish* infantry seeing themselves abandon'd by the horse, was also upon the point of flying: But the archduke dismounting with the counts of *Romont* and *Nassau*, and putting himself at their head, encouraged them by shewing them the few *French* that remain'd in the field. It was a great mistake in *Des Cordes* and *John d' Estouteville* lord of *Torcy*, in suffering themselves to be both transported in the heat of pursuit, without considering the consequences that might happen in the field of battle, and without leaving a part of their cavalry there. If this precaution had been observed, there had been an end of the *Flemmish* army. But they lost the advantage by their precipitancy.

Notes sur les Memoires de la Marl. 2. c. 9. Gaguin

The *Frank* archers of the king's army seeing the flight of the enemies cavalry, thought the day their own, and fell upon the baggage. The count of *Romont* did not lose the opportunity, but advanc'd in *Battalia*, charged them, and being out of all rank and order, defeated them almost without opposition. The *French* cavalry hearing that the infantry were put to the rout, took the alarm, and disbanded, so that the archduke was left master of the field, and gain'd a great

great reputation by this battle. But however, his loſs was incomparably the greateſt, according to *Comines*. The lord of *Cordes* took 900 priſoners, one of whom was a ſon of the king of *Poland*'s. *A. D.* 1479

This battle, in which both ſides loſt a world of men, put a fortunate end to the campaign, and inſpired both the one and the other with the deſire of peace. No important action happen'd the following year, and a truce for ſeven months was concluded in *Auguſt*. This truce was prolong'd by the mediation of *Julian de la Rovere*, cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, whom pope *Sixtus* V. had ſent to *France* to negociate a peace. He alſo procured the cardinal *de la Balue*'s liberty, who had been impriſon'd eleven years for treaſon, and was permitted to retire to *Rome*, where he ſoon after grew into great credit with the pope, by reaſon of his abilities. *A. D.* 1480. *Chronique Scandaleuſe.*

During this truce, the king caſhier'd the *Frank Archers*, a militia inſtituted by *Charles* VII. and placed ſome *Suiſs* troops in their room. He kept, however, ſome *French* infantry in pay, and made them carry the *Suiſs* arms, *viz.* pikes, halbards, and broad ſwords, finding theſe arms much better than bows and arrows for the infantry. *Chronique Scandaleuſe.*

Theſe troops, of which he had a great number ſtanding, were not ſo much to make war, as to oblige the archduke to a peace. But while matters were thus carrying on, he had a fit of apoplexy, which it was thought at firſt would have carried him off: He mended however, and excepting a great weakneſs, which his diſtemper left behind it, he recover'd the uſe of all his limbs, without loſing any thing of the vigour of his ſpirit. *A. D.* 1481. *Comines, l.* 6. *c.* 7.

This accident made him very uneaſy; for no prince was ever more afraid of death, or deſirous to live. Some time after he had another fit at *Tours*, which produced no worſe conſequences than the former. Nothing of all this abated his application to buſineſs, or leſſen'd his contrivance in the management of affairs, which the court of *Savoy* had a good proof of.

I have already obſerved, that after the death of the dutcheſs regent of *Savoy*, the king had the ordering of the government of that dutchy, and of all matters that were to be tranſacted during the minority of the

A. D. 1481. the young duke his nephew. A division happening between the lords of the country, the count *de la Chambre*, whom the king had nominated governor of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, not only acted contrary to his orders, but also had hinder'd the young duke from coming into *France*, whither the king had invited him.

The king, tho' offended at his conduct, dissembled for some time; but he so manag'd matters, that he found means to get the count *de la Chambre* arrested at *Turin*, and order'd him to prison: By this means the troubles in the states of *Savoy* were laid asleep. The duke came to see the king at *Lyons*; but this prince, who was a passionate lover of turnaments, running at the ring, and hunting, being over-heated with these violent exercises, contracted a disease, of which he died the 22d of *April*, at the age of seventeen years, very much regretted by his subjects, for the great qualities which began to appear in his person.

An. 1482.

Guichenon Hist. de Savoye.

His two younger brothers, *Charles* and *John-Lewis*, were in *France*, where the king had committed their education to *Francis* of *Orleans* count of *Dunois*. The king sent for *Charles* the eldest to *Lyons*, and declared himself his guardian, to remove all occasions of quarrel from the uncles of this prince, and named the administrators of the government of *Savoy*, as he had done after the death of the dutchess regent.

Having given all these orders, he went to *Beaujeu* in *Beaujolois*, where he received the news of the death of *Mary* dutchess of *Burgundy*, and arch-dutchess of *Austria*, who died at *Bruges*, after a fall from a horse, on *March* 18.

Hareus in Annal. Brabant.

This prince, ill as he was, for he decay'd daily, seemed to recover new life at this news. He was constantly treating under-hand with the *Gautois*, upon the means and conditions of peace between *France* and *Flanders*, and he knew how well the *Flemmings* were disposed to force the archduke to it. The death of the dutchess of *Burgundy* had made them more regardless than ever of the interests of this prince, whom they look'd upon as a stranger, and one that was no longer their sovereign; the earl-

earldom of *Flanders* devolving, by the death of the dutchess of *Burgundy*, upon *Philip* her son, who was as yet very young. They gave themselves no great concern for the king's depriving the archduke of some part of his states, which lay remote from the earldom of *Flanders*, provided he did not come too near them. Besides, they wish'd to see his power diminished, that he might be the less able to subdue them, or molest them in their privileges. *A. D.* 1482.

The king fail'd not to make his advantage of those happy conjunctures, and by the assistance of the *Gantois*, he immediately broke the measures which the archduke had taken to get himself declared guardian of his son *Philip*, and his daughter *Margaret*, and this wardship was refused him. In a word, they forced him to make peace with *France*, and to consent to the marriage of his daughter *Margaret* with *Monsieur* the *Dauphin*; by which the king had hopes, that the *Low Countries* would one day be united to the crown of *France*, in case the young prince *Philip* died without issue.

The negotiations were concluded at *Arras*, against the will of the archduke, upon such conditions as were the most to the king's advantage, and injurious to the house of *Austria*, and the young princess *Margaret* was carried into *France* to be educated there in quality of *Dauphiness*. Recueil de traitez par Leonard.

Next the duke of *Austria*, the king of *England* was the most uneasy at this marriage: Till then he had depended upon the marriage of his daughter *Elizabeth* with the *Dauphin*; that being one article of the treaty of *Pequigni*, *An.* 1475. and the bait by which the king had drawn him off from the duke of *Burgundy*, and the motive that had prevail'd upon him to suffer the king to make so many conquests in *Picardy*, and the *Low Countries* after the duke's death. This news touch'd him so sensibly, that he fell ill upon it, and was some days after seized of an apoplexy, of which he died when he was breathing nothing but revenge against the king of *France*.

The king wanted nothing but health to enjoy the satisfaction of these great successes. He had got the better of all his enemies; every thing was in quiet subjection throughout his kingdom: The vassals An. 1483. Comines, c. 10.

durst

A. D. 1483. durſt not make the leaſt ſtir; he was become formidable to all his neighbours. The civil war, which broke out in *England*, after the death of *Edward*, left him nothing to fear on that ſide: The character of his wiſdom and policy gained him the reputation of a prince of the greateſt abilities at that time in all *Europe*. But notwithſtanding all his efforts to perſuade himſelf to the contray, he perceiv'd plainly, that after he had ſeen the death of moſt of his enemies, or thoſe that envied or prevented the progreſs of his power, he muſt of neceſſity ſoon follow them: The weakneſs that ſucceeded upon his repeated fits, his extraordinary leanneſs, ſome fits of the falling-ſickneſs, and ſeveral other bad ſymptoms, left him no longer room to doubt of it.

One part of his uneaſineſs proceeded from his being as unable to conceal his condition from others, as from himſelf. He was afraid of the ill effects ſuch a notion might produce in the minds of the grandees, of the people, and of his neighbours; and was no leſs apprehenſive of the diminution of his authority, than of his death; to prevent both which evils he uſed all imaginable precaution.

Comines, l. 6. c. 7. He gave over all thoughts of travelling, which he could no longer bear the fatigue of, and retired to his pleaſure-houſe of *Pleſſis* near *Tours*, with a ſmall attendance and his guard, which was always very numerous. Very few perſons were admitted to viſit him there, and never ſuffer'd to lie in the caſtle. He always appear'd well dreſs'd before them, tho' till then he had been very careleſs in his habit. In this reſpect he had alter'd his method, with a deſign to ſet himſelf of, and preſerve as well as he could a good mein, which his fall'n countenance had conſiderably abated. He had his ſpies every where, both at home and abroad, and made frequent changes in the provinces, only to awaken the thoughts of the people, and convince them, that the frequent rumours of his death, or being in danger, were falſe.

He made uſe of the like method, and with the ſame views, in foreign countries. Never were the penſions better payed, more negotiations ſet on foot, or more ambaſſadors ſent into the neighbouring kingdoms, or moſt remote countries, upon his own pri

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vate affairs. There were to be ſeen *French* merchants in *Brittany*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Germany*, and *Africa*, to buy for him at a great price the fineſt horſes, mules, and hounds. By this means the flying reports concerning the ill ſtate of his health, came at leaſt to be doubted of, and he held all foreign courts in ſuſpence about it. *A. D.* 1483.

But after all, his chiefeſt care was to recover his health; for which purpoſe, he had recourſe to all ſorts of remedies, as well natural as ſupernatural. That upon which he laid the greateſt ſtreſs was, the prayers of the holy man of *Calabria*; for this was the name of *Francis de Paula*, famous in *Italy* for the reputation of ſanctity and miracles. He ſent for him to *Tours*, where he paid him the greateſt honours. The courtiers, who for the moſt part, are not overſtock'd with religion, made a great jeſt of the ſaint's journey: But *Comines*, who was preſent at the interview he had with the king, ſpeaks very honourably not only of the virtue, but alſo of the wiſdom of this man of God, whom the church has ever ſince reckon'd among the number of thoſe ſhe reveres.

During all this time, *Charles* the *Dauphin* was at *Amboiſe*, where he moſt commonly reſided under the care of *Peter de Bourbon*, count of *Beaujeu*, where he was ſuffer'd to ſpeak to very few perſons, rarely brought to court, and had been many years without the king's ſeeing him. The chief reaſon of their obliging the young prince to lead ſo retired a life, was the king's fear leaſt he ſhould have been drawn off from him, and inſpired with the ſame conduct that he himſelf had given a very bad example of, in the life-time of king *Charles* VIII. his father.

He would not in all likelihood have removed him from this ſolitude at *Amboiſe* for a long time, if he had lived; but when he was no longer able to diſſemble with himſelf the danger he was in of an approaching death, he ſent for him to *Pleſſis*, and repeated the adviſe he had given him ſome months before at *Amboiſe*, moſt of which was extremely judicious, and contain'd, among other things, a reproof of his own conduct in ſome particulars. Comines, l. 6. c. 11. Obſervations ſur Comines.

After this interview, he diſmiſs'd the young prince, who returned to *Amboiſe*; but had not been long

A. D. 1483. long there, before he received the news that the king was a dying of a new fit of the apoplexy; and indeed this was the last. Being come to his speech and understanding, they let him know that he was past hopes of a recovery, and would do well to prepare himself seriously to make his appearance before God. He received this news with less emotion than was expected, and called for the sacrament, which he received with great signs of piety. He did not live above five or six days after this relapse, and died on the thirteenth of *August*.

Comines, l. 6. c. 22.

He was a prince of a very extraordinary character, of a great and penetrating genius, expert in the art of government; but his prudence often degenerated into guile and craftiness; and this is the least we can say of him. He was a perfect master of dissimulation: But he was too much enamour'd of this art, and it is too certain that he continually practiced it; which was the reason why his enemies and his neighbours, the princes of the blood, and his own ministers, did never depend upon him. However, we can't refuse him the praise due to his valour, which he gave some remarkable testimonies of, while he was no more than *Dauphin*. He was by nature neither beneficent nor liberal; but he made no difficulty to become so, when his interest required it. He spared nothing to purchase an interest in the councils of neighbouring princes, or to debauch their best ministers, to gain the governors of towns, corrupt ambassadors, and embarass his enemies; so that, commonly speaking, his benefactions were not so much a mark of friendship, as of the need he had of those upon whom he bestowed them.

It was much more easy to incur his displeasure, than merit or preserve his favour: He pardon'd seldom, and punished severely.

To take an estimate of him from outward appearance, he was a very religious prince: He went to confession once every week, took frequent pilgrimages, paid a great veneration to the reliques of saints, and often bestowed presents upon churches: But this did not make him a more exact observer of his promise and oaths, nor less vindictive and deceitful. After all, to take a general view of his conduct, he seems

seems not so much to have acted the hypocrite in religion, as to have possessed himself with an unaccountable notion of the sufficiency of these external practices to supply the neglect of solid and essential devotion, which made him scruple trifles, while he swallowed matters of the greatest importance to conscience. *A. D.* 1483.

In a word, there was a certain extravagance ran through all this prince's actions, which proceeded partly from a natural temper, differently formed from that of most others, in which the bad considerably preponderated; and partly from a mysterious affectation of singularity, with which he took a pleasure to cloath all his steps and designs, to embaras those who were disposed to penetrate his intentions; sometimes appearing bold and couragious, sometimes faint hearted; now covetous, then liberal; one while mistrustful, and another open, even to rashness; so as to trust his own person with those from whom he had reason to fear the worst; and this was his way to the very last.

He compassed his design of making himself absolute master of his kingdom, a design which he had always aim'd at; but as he wanted the hearts of his subjects, he reigned in continual fear and disquiet.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *FRANCE.*

Charles VIII.

A. D. 1483. CHARES VIII. aſcended the throne in 1483. There was no diſpute about a regency, becauſe as he was entred into his fourteenth year, he was no longer a minor, according to the irrevocable ordinance of king *Charles* V. for the majority of the kings; but this age, however, did not exempt him from the neceſſity of having ſome perſon, upon whom he might rely for the management of affairs, and who in his name might exerciſe the chief authority in the government. For, as for himſelf, he had not the leaſt knowledge of affairs, becauſe thoſe who had been charged with his education, were forbid by the king his father to communicate any information of that kind to him.

Louis XI. had before his death, declared it to be his pleaſure, that *Anne* of *France*, his eldeſt daughter, ſhould have the adminiſtration during the minority of his ſon. She was called *Madame de Beaujeu*, by reaſon of her marriage with *Peter de Bourbon*, lord

de

de Beaujeu. She and her husband were indued with all the prudence neceſſary to the happy and ſucceſsful management of the government. This princeſs is deſcribed in hiſtory as a lady of ſuperiour talents, of a penetrating and judicious underſtanding, courageous and conſtant, exempt from the ordinary foibles of her ſex, and every way qualified by theſe great endowments for the direction and command of the ſtate. *A. D.* 1483. Hiſt. Latine de Louis XII.

Altho' the late king deſigned that monſieur *de Beaujeu* ſhould govern in concert with his lady, yet he nominated none but her, becauſe there were ſome princes of the blood much nearer to the crown than he; who, in virtue of this proximity, might have diſputed with him a place that more naturally devolved upon them; but this objection cou'd no way be alledged againſt the princeſs, who, being the young king's ſiſter, was more nearly related to him than any other.

But when a king leaves behind him a ſucceſſor that is a minor, the greateſt precaution in the world is not always ſufficient to prevent inconveniencies, or allay the eager deſire of command in all thoſe who have a right or pretence to it.

Lewis duke of *Orleans*, preſumptive heir of the crown in caſe of the young king's dying before he came to have iſſue, look'd upon the nomination of *Anne* of *France*, as an injuſtice to his quality of firſt prince of the blood. He thought himſelf ſufficiently qualified for this great poſt; and indeed he was a perſon of great merit, but wanted experience; for he was not above the age of three and twenty, and had never been concerned in affairs under the preceding reign.

This reaſon brought another perſon upon the ſtage, which was *John* duke of *Bourbon*, eldeſt brother of monſieur *de Beaujeu*, a man reſpected by all the kingdom for his age of ſixty years, the great ſervices he had done the government, his valour and prudence manifeſted upon innumerable occaſions, and who imagined it impoſſible for a woman and a young prince to diſpute the preference with him in an affair of this nature. Belcarius l. 4.

The court was divided between theſe three rivals, each of whom had his abettors, and thought of form-

A. D. 1483. ing a party; and this unhappy competition held all *France* in ſuſpenſe. *Madam de Beaujeu*, who foreſaw the dangerous conſequences of theſe diviſions, propoſed an expedient whereby to end them, *viz.* to refer the matter to the determination of the aſſembly of the ſtates, which the princes demanded with all poſſible earneſtneſs. This expedient might appear in a different light to different parties; but it ſeem'd ſo reaſonable and natural, that the dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* durſt not refuſe to comply with it, though they plainly foreſaw, that this judicious princeſs, who had the king in her power, and diſpoſed of every thing in his name, wou'd make uſe of this ſuſpenſion, and the time that muſt neceſſarily be taken up in calling the eſtates together, to confirm her authority, and augment the number of her creatures.

In the mean time the duke of *Orleans* being in all likelihood reſolved not to ſtand to the deciſion of the ſtates, how favourable ſoever it might be to him, enter'd into a cloſe alliance with the duke of *Brittany*, upon occaſion of a great diſturbance that aroſe at this duke's court. He cou'd have wiſh'd for nothing more to his advantage: For if he had not ſucceeded in his deſigns at the court of *France*, he was always ſure of a ſafe retreat in *Brittany*, from whence he wou'd have ſuch aſſiſtance as wou'd enable him to terrify his adverſaries.

Argentré hiſt. de Bretagne, l. 12. c. 431, 432.

Francois II. duke of *Brittany* had always reſiding with him *Peter Landois*, of whom I have already ſpoken in the hiſtory of *Lewis* XI. He was a man of perhaps as much craft and ſubtilty as any at that time in *Europe*. The *Britton* nobility, whom he depreſs'd and kept very much under, had ſeveral times conſpired againſt him: But he had always countervail'd their deſigns. There happen'd a new plot againſt him, in which he wou'd certainly have periſhed, if his good fortune had not ſaved him. He eſcaped when he was upon the point of being taken and ſacrificed to the revenge of his enemies, and afterwards drove them to the utmoſt extremity: For he forced ſeveral lords to abandon *Brittany*, and fly into *France*, where they met with a good reception, and did not fail to ſpeak of the king's right to *Brittany*, after

Obſervations ſur l'hiſt. de Charles VIII.

after the duke's death: Upon which a conference was held with them at *Montargis*, *Oct.* 22. and madam *de Beaujeu*, promiſed them aſſiſtance againſt the miniſter that oppreſſed them. *A. D.* 1484.

John de Chalons, Prince of *Orange*, was then at the court of the duke of *Brittany*, whoſe nephew he was by the mother's ſide. The reaſon of his reſiding there was, in outward appearance, to paſs ſome time with the duke his uncle, but the ſecret and true motive was to negociate a marriage with *Anne* of *Brittany*, the duke's eldeſt daughter and heireſs, in favour of the archduke *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, without the knowledge of the court of *France*. This prince finding *Landois* no friend to his deſign, entred into the conſpiracy againſt him, was with the marſhal *de Rieux* at the head of it, and was obliged to depart *Brittany*, as well as the reſt. *An.* 1484.

Landois receiving an account of what paſs'd at *Montargis*, reſolved immediately to be even with madam *de Beaujeu*, and perſuaded the duke of *Brittany*, to write an invitation to the duke of *Orleans*, as his dear kinſman, to come and ſee him, aſſuring him that his journey ſhou'd not be unprofitable to him. The duke of *Orleans* read this letter with extream pleaſure, and communicated it to *Francis* of *Orleans* count of *Dunois*. This count was his only confident, and merited the truſt he put in him. He inherited many of the great qualities of *John* count of *Dunois* his father, and had an equal zeal for the grandeur of the legitimate branch of *Orleans*.

He diſcovered immediately the beneficial effects of the overture made the duke of *Orleans*, and adviſed him by no means to neglect this opportunity; telling him, that, though the journey propoſed ſhou'd not anſwer his preſent aim, to procure him the government of the kingdom during the king's minority, yet he might reap another conſiderable advantage by it; *viz.* to compaſs a marriage by *Landois*'s aſſiſtance with *Anne* eldeſt daughter, and heireſs to the duke of *Brittany*. This indeed was the beſt fortune cou'd have happen'd to this Prince, whether he ever came to the crown or not.

The Journey was reſolved upon, and the duke attended with the count of *Dunois*, went to *Nantes* to Hiſt. latine de Louis ſec XII.

A. D. 1484. see the duke of *Brittany*, who received him with all imaginable honour and marks of respect. They found the duke to be a prince of a very weak mind, assured him of their inclinations towards him, and had several conferences with *Landois*, the effect of which we shall see hereafter. This minister promised the duke of *Orleans*, to do him all the service that lay in his power; but no particular measures were as yet entred upon.

Madam *de Beaujeu*, who had reason to suspect the duke of *Orleans*'s stay in *Brittany*, procured an order from the king to require him to return immediately to *France*, to assist in the states assembled at *Tours*, and at the king's consecration. There cou'd have been no pretence for recalling him more specious than this; and the duke of *Orleans* had no visible reason to excuse his compliance with these two duties. He took leave of the duke of *Brittany*, but not without doing violence to his own inclinations; for as soon as he had seen *Anne* of *Brittany*, he began to make his addresses to her as well by inclination as for interest; and the count of *Dunois* was feign to make use of all the authority he had gain'd over him, to oblige him to depart.

Hist. latine de Louis XII.

The first important affair that the states went upon was the choice of a fit person, to whose care the prince might be committed. Madam *de Beaujeu* had so dextrously contrived matters, as to be sure of success. She had already persuaded the duke of *Bourbon*, to lay aside his pretensions, by assuring him of the dignity of connestable, which he fondly desired. In a word, this duke's adherents and hers united; so that her faction in the states became incomparably stronger than that of the duke of *Orleans*. And it was resolved, that in compliance with the intentions of the late king, madam *Anne* of *France*, *Dame de Beaujeu*, shou'd have the charge and care of his majesty's sacred person, till his age and experience wou'd permit him to govern alone; that warrants and pardons shou'd be issued out in the king's name and by his authority; but no important affair shou'd be concluded, without the consent of the greatest and best part of the council.

Ibid.

Madam

Madam *de Beaujeu* having gain'd her principal design, and seeing her authority confirm'd by that of the states, thought only of preserving a harmony, and acting in concert with them in regard to the government of the kingdom: The grievances contain'd in the papers of the three orders were examin'd; the remonstrances were made with a great deal of respect and submission; the king gave the states satisfaction upon most of the points proposed, and every thing was transacted in the assemblies with much more agreement and harmony than cou'd have been expected. *A. D.* 1484.

As soon as the estates were dismiss'd, preparations were made for the coronation, and the ceremony was performed at *Rheims* on the thirtieth of *May*, after which the king made his entry into *Paris*. Madam *de Beaujeu*, with the council, which consisted of the princes of the blood, and twelve persons chosen or approved by the states, proceeded in affairs.

Before the meeting of the estates, they had already taken care to renew the antient alliance with *James* king of *Scotland*. In like manner they confirmed that with the *Swiss*; several lords that had been banished in the preceding reign were recalled. All this was transacted with a great deal of prudence, to establish the peace and security of the kingdom: And if the duke of *Orleans* cou'd have been persuaded to acquiesce in the regulations made by the estates, whom he had agreed to arbitrate matters, *France* wou'd have enjoy'd a greater quiet, and the people been better contented in the beginning of this new reign, than for many years before.

The desire of commanding, or at least the shame of submitting, would not permit this young prince to have so sensible a regard to the benefit of the states. They had hopes of contenting him, by giving him the governments of *Paris*, the Isle of *France*, *Champagne* and *Brie*: But he was too sensible of the difference between these particular governments, and that of a whole kingdom. He quitted the court, and came from *Tours* to *Paris*, where by his magnificence, he drew the eyes of all the world upon him, and endeavour'd to gain the affections of the inhabitants by popular methods and liberality. He affected Extrait des registres du parlement du 17 Janvier, 1485. *An.* 1485. Vita Ludov. Aurel. Belcar. l. 4.

A. D. 1485. to appear often in publick; ſometimes at tennis, ſometimes at the horſe-races, and other exerciſes, in which he had a grace and behaviour above every body, which gain'd him the applauſe of all the ſpectators. But this was not all: He went often to the townhouſe, aſſiſted in almoſt all the meetings, and concerned himſelf with every thing that was tranſacted there.

The court, now arrived at *Melun*, was not ignorant of what had paſſed at *Paris*, and perceived plainly the aim and intention of this conduct. Madam *de Beaujeu* took the ſhorteſt and moſt effectual method to remedy it, by reſolving to ſeize this prince, to which ſhe gained the votes and conſent of the council: But he having his ſpies at court, was advertis'd of the reſolution that had been taken there, and departed ſuddenly from *Paris*, whither the meſſengers that came to ſeize him, were already arrived, and went to *Verneuil* in *Perche*.

This was a very ſtrong place, and the duke by the advice of the count of *Dunois*, reſolved to continue there, and wait for the troops, which thoſe who were concern'd in the conſpiracy, might bring to aſſiſt him: For the faction was already form'd, nor wou'd the duke have acted in the manner he did at *Paris*, without being ſure of ſupport.

The court was greatly ſurprized, when they heard that the count of *Angouleme*, and the duke of *Bourbon*, were of this prince's party; that the former rais'd ſoldiers for him in *Poitou*, and the other in *Auvergne*. They found alſo that the king himſelf was greatly inclined to favour the duke of *Orleans*, by his backwardneſs in ſubmitting to his ſiſter's authority over him, and that he had once earneſtly preſs'd the count of *Dunois* at *Vincennes*, to carry him to the duke of *Orleans*.

Madam *de Beaujeu* however was not at a loſs how to manage in ſo nice a conjuncture. She removed three of the king's chamberlains, *Maillé*, *Pot*, and *Gouffier*, and placed *Graville* and *du Mas*, of whoſe fidelity ſhe was well aſſured, in their room. She watched all the ſteps of the counts of *Albret* and *Foix*, of the prince of *Orange*, and the duke of *Lorraine*, who were

were then at court; and as she made no question but the duke of *Brittany* was the person upon whom the duke of *Orleans* chiefly depended, she had always a careful eye upon him, and sent an order to the governours of that frontier to guard the passages into *Brittany*, and commanded some vessels to be fitted out from the ports of *Normandy*, the captains of which were order'd to stop all the barks they met. This precaution was not in vain. Some of the duke of *Orleans*'s emissaries were surprized in the habit of monks, as they were going in his name to the duke of *Brittany*, and were hanged or drowned. Soldiers were posted in several parts of the provinces to stop the duke of *Bourbon*, and the count of *Angouleme*, and prevent their joining the duke of *Orleans*. They suborned also a man, that had the assurance to go to the duke of *Brittany*, as from the duke of *Orleans*, and to tell him, that he need not be in haste to send forces into *Normandy*, as had been agreed, and that he shou'd know when it was time for them to march. *A. D.* 1485. Vie de Louis xii. par S. Gelais. Vita Ludov. Aurelian.

These precautions retarded the march of the rebellious troops, and disconcerted the duke of *Orleans*'s measures. He began now to fear he shou'd be invested in *Verneuil*, before they arrived, which determined him to hearken to the propofalof an interview with Madam *de Beaujeu* at *Evreux*, to find out a method of accommodation.

He came thither after he had received security; but was hardly arrived, when of a sudden he departed for *Blois*, and so the court return'd to *Paris* without having concluded upon any thing.

The duke of *Lorraine* was most to be feared, and one of the greatest malecontents. They endeavour'd to appease him with the dutchy of *Bar*, and a pension of 36000 livres out of the royal treasury, promising him to enquire into his pretensions to the earldom of *Provence*, and do him justice in that particular within the space of four years. This was a long time, and gave the princess an opportunity of finding out expedients to disentangle herself from this difficulty Comines, l. 7. c. 1.

A. D. 1485.

This treaty had the entire effect that was proposed by it: The duke of *Lorraine* declared so openly for the king, that the duke of *Orleans* esteemed him from that time as his greatest enemy; and by his advice he was closely pursued, to prevent his having time to strengthen his party.

Vita Ludov. Aurelian. Instructions du sieur du Bouchage dans les memoires de Bethune, vol. cotté, 8460.

As soon as it was known that he was at *Blois*, it was not doubted but his design was to seize upon *Orleans* the capital of his appennage; and care was taken to prevent him. *Imbert de Bastarnai*, lord of *Bouchage*, was sent thither, and preserved the town in its obedience, and when the duke of *Orleans* came before it, the gates were shut against him.

In the mean time a great number of malecontents join'd the duke of *Orleans*, and made him an army of 8000 infantry and near 3000 horse, with whom he posted himself at *Beaugenci*, to wait for those of the duke of *Bourbon* and the count of *Angouleme:* But they were very uneasy at *Montargis*, whither the court was then arrived, when they heard that the duke had left his army to go for *Paris*.

He was very much beloved by the *Parisians*, which was the reason of their concern. His design was to persuade the parliament to come into his measures. He went thither and harangued the parliament by *Denys le Mercier* his chancellour, all the courts being assembled. The subject of the harangue was the disturbances of the state, the methods of redress, and all that is usually urged upon the like occasions by the head of a rebellious faction. This speech had no manner of effect: *John de la Vaquerie* having collected the voices, answer'd the duke of *Orleans* with as much honour as courage, and gave him to understand, that neither the parliament nor city of *Paris*, wou'd ever countenance his revolt.

Extrait des registres du parlement du 17. de *Jan.*

This answer made him afraid that he was not oversafe at *Paris*; upon which he returned to *Beaugenci* to put himself at the head of his army. When he arrived there, he understood that the king with his army, commanded by *Lewis de la Tremouille*, was already at *Orleans:* And as it was very numerous, he perceived plainly that the faction wou'd not be equal to it. Upon this account, by the advice of the count of *Dunois*, he resumed the method of negotiating to

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ſuſpend the war for ſuch time till he cou'd better concert his deſigns with the duke of *Brittany*, and the other princes. *A. D.* 1485.

He ſent a herald to *la Tremouille*, to ask him in his name, whether he wou'd not hear ſome propoſals he had to make him. The general anſwered, that he was ready to hear them and recommend them to the king, if they were reaſonable ones. So they agreed upon a conference with the king's permiſſion, in which *la Tremouille* inſiſted peremptorily upon two points. Firſt, that *Beaugenci* ſhou'd be ſurrender'd to the king; and ſecondly, that the duke of *Orleans* ſhou'd diſmiſs his troops, in caſe the king granted him a pardon. The treaty was concluded upon theſe conditions, if the king ſhou'd agree to it.

When the treaty had been examined at *S. Laurent des Eaux*, whither the king was advanced, it wou'd not paſs without two other conditions; firſt, that the duke, having diſmiſs'd his troops, ſhou'd repair to *Orleans* and take up his reſidence there; and ſecondly, that the count of *Dunois* ſhou'd depart the kingdom, and confine himſelf at *Aſt* in *Italy*, which was a part of the duke of *Orleans*'s patrimony.

Theſe two were hard conditions, eſpecially that concerning the baniſhment of the count of *Dunois*: But this count taking a pleaſure in ſacrificing himſelf for the benefit of peace, and the love of the duke, perſuaded him to accept the terms.

This prince having ſubmitted, it was no difficult matter to reclaim the duke of *Bourbon* and the count of *Angouleme*. The army march'd againſt them; but the duke of *Lorraine*, the marſhal *de Gye* and *Graville*, who was afterwards admiral of *France*, obtain'd their pardons; as did alſo the count of *Albret*, upon condition of laying down their arms. Vita ducis Aurelian. Belcar. l. 4.

The ſucceſs of theſe expeditions was much to the honour of madam *de Beaujeu*; but ſhe had too much good ſenſe to lay any great ſtreſs upon the fidelity of princes, that had quitted their arms out of meer neceſſity. She knew what alliances they ſtill maintain'd in *Brittany*, and made no queſtion but they did the ſame in the *Low Countries* with the archduke, who never forgot the forced marriage of his daughter with the king, and the loſs that he had ſuſtain'd of the earldom

A. D. 1485. dom of *Artois* and *Burgundy*: She had already considered of proper methods for precaution on that side, and of incapacitating these two princes, as much as possible, from doing any mischief.

The easiest and most natural way with regard to the archduke, was to foment the civil war, that was broke out in the *Low Countries*. The *Gantois*, who were always at the head of the states of *Flanders*, had made themselves masters of the person of the young prince *Philip*, and had declared themselves his *Guardians*; an office which the archduke pretended was due to him, as being the young prince's father. Some other provinces maintain'd the archduke's pretentions in this particular. Madam *de Beaujeu* vigorously supported the *Gantois* and the other states of *Flanders*, but under hand, for fear of a rupture with the archduke. The lord of *Cordes* was the person employ'd in fomenting those divisions and he acquitted himself perfectly well of his commission, being possessed of all the qualifications necessary for such an enterprize, and having many friends in the country, where he had gain'd a great reputation in the life-time of the late duke of *Burgundy*.

Maræus Annal. Brabant.

Less regard was had to the duke of *Brittany* than the archduke. The treaty of *Montargis* with the *Britton* lords, refugees in *France*, touching the rights which the king pretended to have to the dutchy of *Brittany*, in case the duke shou'd happen to die without an heir, was no longer kept a secret; and this was the handle made use of to prevent his executing the design, which he was known to have, of supporting the revolts of the duke of *Orleans*.

Landois, his minister, encouraged him in it; and upon his design of revenging himself of the *Britton* lords, and of the protection given them in *France*, he had taken a resolution of calling in the whole force of *England* to his support, upon which he thought he might most certainly depend: But as this man formed no common designs, he wou'd not have this succour be esteemed a new obligation upon the duke of *Brittany* from the *English*, but an acknowledgment on the prince's part, from whom he expected it, and the price of the crown which himself had set upon his head.

To understand this intrigue, it must be observed, that *Edward* late king of *England*, had left, upon his death bed, *An.* 1483. *Richard* duke of *Glocester* his brother, guardian to his two sons, and regent of the kingdom; and that this duke had seiz'd upon the crown, having first barbarously massacred his two Pupils. *A. D* 1485.

He reigned by the name of *Richard* III. and having destroyed all such as cou'd dispute the crown with him, he had only one single man to fear, who was in no condition to hurt him, supposing he remain'd where he had been for a considerable time: This was *Henry* earl of *Richmond*, whom the duke of *Brittany* kept in prison for 15 years.

Edward, who was well acquainted with the great qualities of this earl, the only remaining branch of the house of *York*, had used all his endeavours to get him out of the duke's hands: But the duke cou'd not be persuaded to deliver up a prince that had depended upon his generosity in flying to him for shelter; and as he did not care to break with *Edward*, he promised not to suffer him to go out of his territories. He kept his word during *Edward*'s whole reign; and the earl of *Richmond* continued in *Brittany*, meeting always with good usage, excepting the loss of his liberty.

Richard having got possession of the kingdom of *England*, did not fail to sollicite the duke of *Brittany*, to deal with him in this regard as he had dealt with his predecessor. The duke promised him that he wou'd, and kept his word till the revolt of the *Britton* lords put his minister *Landois* upon other measures.

He made an offer to the earl of *Richmond* to procure him his liberty, to furnish him with ships and some troops to accompany him into *England*, where he knew *Richard* was extremely hated, and the earl of *Richmond*'s appearance was sufficient to make the whole kingdom revolt in favour of him. The condition of this offer was, that when he was seated upon the throne he shou'd assist the duke of *Brittany*, with all his forces, against the revolt of the *Britton* lords, and the attempts of *France*. The earl promised to comply with all that he desired upon this

head,

A. D. 1485. head; and it was an easy price for his liberty, and a crown.

The earl of *Richmond* departed some time after with fifteen vessels, and 5000 men. He met with a violent storm in his passage, in which he had like to have perished, but it was indeed the saving of his life. For *Richard* having discovered the conspiracy, had dissipated the earl's party in *England*, and this prince had certainly fallen into his hands, if he had landed

He put in at *Dieppe*, and returned by land to *Brittany*, where matters were greatly alter'd with regard to his situation, though they had still the same outward appearance.

Argentre Hist. de Bretagne, l. 12. *Landois* seeing the earl of *Richmond*'s affairs entirely ruined, treated with *Richard*, and promised to deliver him up into his hands, upon his assuring him of assistance against the *Britton* lords. The earl was advertis'd of it by the bishop of *Ely*, who had been one of the principal conspirators against *Richard*, and was fled to *Flanders*. The earl upon this news escaped from *Rennes* in disguise, and gain'd the frontiers of *France*. He had not been miss'd above an hour by the troops, when *Landois* sent after him; he waited upon the king, who was then at *Langey* in *Tourain*, and was graciously received by him.

Landois's treachery, which made the earl of *Richmond* take part with *France* against *Brittany*, determined the court to protect him; so they furnished him with vessels, and 4000 of the stoutest men among the *French* troops. He set sail from *Havre*, *August* 1. and arrived at *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, where his adherents came in great numbers to join him. He march'd at the head of his army, and met *Richard* at *Leicester*, where they join'd battle, and *Richard* was defeated and kill'd upon the spot. By his death the affair was decided. Both parties ranged themselves under the earl of *Richmond*'s colours; and he was crowned in the camp with the same crown that was found in *Richard*'s baggage, which was afterwards repeated with the usual ceremonies, by the consent of parliament and people; and he was one of the greatest princes that had for a long time ascended the throne of *England*.

This

This single stroke would have disconcerted all *Landois*'s intrigues against *France*; but he had already suffer'd the punishment due to his treachery and other crimes. The nobility made a new revolt against him, and the duke was forced to abandon *Landois* to them. He was try'd and condemn'd in form, and hang'd at *Nantes* on the nineteenth of *July*; after which, the lords of *Brittany* came to assure the duke of their entire loyalty. A few days after the execution of *Landois*, a treaty of peace was concluded between the king and the duke of *Brittany*, but it was not long observed. *A. D.* 1485.

The death of this minister was not an indifferent accident with regard to the affairs of *France*: The duke of *Orleans* had by that means lost his principal support at the court of *Brittany*; but then it produced a reconciliation between the *Britton* lords and their duke; and the treaty they had made with the king at *Montargis* could no longer be depended upon.

The prince of *Orange* and *Odet d' Aidie* count of *Cominges*, who absolutely governed the duke after *Landois*'s death, and were then in *Brittany*, pretending to be very much in the king's interests, by giving him frequent advices of what passed at the court of *Brittany*, they betrayed him, and practis'd with the duke of *Orleans*. madam *de Beaujeu* had already a great suspicion of both their fidelities; but she was perfectly convinced when the account was brought her, that a close league was struck up with *Maximilian* archduke of *Austria*, who about that time was chosen king of the *Romans*, by which title I shall describe him for the future.

This treaty was signed by the prince of *Orange*, the duke of *Orleans*, and the marshal *de Rieux*, who seemed one of the most zealous for the king at the treaty of *Montargis*, before it was known at court, the duke of *Orleans* had made his escape, and was fled to *Brittany*, where the count of *Dunois* went to join him.

Madam *de Beaujeu* being inform'd that the duke of *Orleans*'s old adherents began to make disturbances in several parts of the kingdom, lost no time, but set out with the king, notwithstanding the rigour of the

A. D. 1485. the season, for it was then the midst of winter; and making as if she was going to take possession of *Parthenay*, which belong'd to the count of *Dunois*, she turn'd aside to *Guyenne*, the government of the count of *Cominges*. There was a necessity of besieging some towns; but she carried her point, and the whole country submitted. The king reunited to the crown the earldom of *Cominges*, which *Lewis* XI. had given to him that bore the title of it, to purchase this lord's interest at the court of *Brittany*. The government of *Guyenne* was given to madam *de Beaujeu:* This expedition was so well managed, and so suddenly executed, that the king, who did not set out from *Tours* till the middle of *January*, had made himself master of all *Guyenne* by the fifteenth of *March*. *Parthenay* also was obliged to surrender; and the king with his army arrived at *Anjou* in *April*. This undertaking was not so much designed for a war upon the duke of *Brittany*, as to terrify him, because there were some apprehensions of a diversion in the *Low Countries* from the king of the *Romans*.

Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, l. 12.

The king's approach had its effect, and rais'd a division among the barons of *Brittany*. Some that were wholly devoted to the duke of *Orleans* were for maintaining the war, if the king should declare against the duke. Others of more prudence and regard to the publick good, were of opinion, that the duke should not be so stiff in protecting the duke of *Orleans*, as to expose the country to an entire ruin for his sake. The king took advantage of this division, and sent word to the marshal *de Rieux*, who was of the latter sentiment, that he had no intention to make war upon the duke of *Brittany*, provided he would forbear to harbour and protect his rebellious subjects. This proposal reliſh'd well; and the king, to convince the marshal of his inclinations to peace, withdrew from *Anjou*, with the greatest part of his army: But that was not the principal motive of his retreat; he had another affair that obliged him to repair with his forces to the other extremity of his kingdom.

The king of the *Romans*, in pursuance of the treaty of the alliance made with the duke of *Brittany* and the duke of *Orleans*, had began his hostilities in the *Low*

Low Countries. *Salasar* governour of *Donai* had surprized *Terouanne*: *Montagne* also had been taken; and this prince was forming greater projects upon this frontier: But the marshal *de Gye*, and the lords of *Cordes*, though with but a handful of troops, caused his other designs to miscarry, and for want of money he was forced to break up the campaign. *A. D.* 1485. Haræus Annal. Brab. An. 1486.

In the mean time, madam *de Beaujeu* was labouring to reclaim the *French* princes of the duke of *Orleans*'s Faction: She plied the count of *Angouleme* so closely, that he was obliged to have recourse to the king's clemency; and she managed the connestable of *Bourbon* with so much art and contrivance, that she entirely gain'd him, and reconciled him with monsieur *de Beaujeu* her husband, this prince's younger brother. The great power of the younger, raised a jealousy in the elder brother; but means were found out to convince him, that it was for the interest both of the government and the house of *Bourbon*, that a good intelligence should be settled between them. The count of *Vendome* was the person that managed this accommodation. Instructions du Roy au comte de Vendome pour le Connetable Jaligni Hist. de Charles VIII.

Philip de Comines disgusted that the same regard was not had to him in this, as in the preceding reign, had enter'd into the princes's intrigue, and practis'd contrary to the noble morality he from time to time suggests in his history, concerning the honesty and fidelity of subjects to their sovereign. He was one of the connestable of *Bourbon*'s evil counsellors; who, after his reconciliation with the king, removed him out of his family. He was seized with some others, and, as himself tells us, was imprison'd in one of the cages, which I spoke of at the end of *Lewis* XI's reign, and lay there eight months. Comines, l. 6. c. 12.

While these things were transacting, the duke of *Brittany* fell dangerously ill, and the king advanced as far as *Tours* with a design to enter *Brittany*, in case of the duke's death: But he recovered; so the king return'd to *Amboise* in *November*, and continued there to consult upon measures with the faction of the *Britton* lords against the duke of *Orleans*. *André d' Espinay* archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, and the lord *du Bouchage* concluded a treaty with them, that was very much to the king's advantage;

the

A. D. 1486. the main article of which was, that the *Britton* lords, with whom they were treating, should take up arms for the king, and not lay them down 'till the duke of *Orleans*, the count of *Dunois*, and the other *French* rebels were departed *Brittany*, and that the king shou'd send 400 lances, and 4000 foot to the assistance of the confederate lords, for the establishment of the peace between the king and the duke, which should depart *Brittany*, as soon as ever the *French* rebels were driven thence.

An. 1487. As much as the conclusion of this treaty rejoiced the king, so much it disturbed the duke of *Brittany* and his allies, and the whole winter was taken up in negotiating to form a league against the king. The king of the *Romans* sollicited the duke of *Lorrain*, the king of *Castile*, and the duke of *Savoy*, who were all at variance with the court of *France*, to unite forces with the duke of *Brittany*. But the king of the *Romans*'s misfortune was, that he had no money, which is often the very sinews both of negotiations and of war; and besides, the *Flemmings* were a constant plague to him.

As the duke saw himself destitute of all these helps, he accepted the lord of *Albret*'s offer; but he was at a great distance, and the road to *Brittany* very difficult to pass. This lord was resolved to make the greatest efforts in favour of the duke, because he flattered himself with the hopes of marrying *Anne* of *Brittany*. The duke of *Orleans*, and the prince of *Orange* were the most forward in pressing him upon this motive, notwithstanding both the one and the other were resolved to prevent this marriage, because the duke of *Orleans* pretended to her himself, and the prince of *Orange* was actually treating with the duke in favour of the king of the *Romans*.

In the mean time the king sent three armies into *Brittany* in the month of *May*; the one commanded by the lord of *St. André*, the other by *Gilbert de Bourbon*, count of *Montpensier*, and the third by *Lewis de la Tremouille*; all which join'd to the *Britton* lords of the king's party, made an army that vastly exceeded the duke of *Brittany*'s numbers, drawn together by the duke of *Orleans* at *Malestroit*, which upon the review consisted of 16000 foot and 600 lances.

The

The *French* troops join'd at *Ploermel*, which was taken by ſtorm, and pillaged; from thence they march- A. D. 1487.
ed to *Vannes* to beſiege the duke of *Brittany*, who had withdrawn himſelf thither. This prince had been loſt, if the prince of *Orange* had not arrived by ſea with ſome veſſels, in one of which he made him embarque, and carried him to *Nantes*. *Vannes* being terrified at the flight of the duke, ſurrendred without making any reſiſtance. Jaligni, Hiſt. de Charles VIII.

From thence the *French* army went to lay ſiege to *Nantes*: It was a ſtrong and well fortified city for thoſe times; the garriſon was numerous, and the duke put himſelf at the head of it, ſeconded by the prince of *Orange*, the duke of *Orleans*, and the count of *Comines*, who attended him there with many of the *French* and *Britton* nobility; ſo it made a vigorous defence.

The count of *Dunois* was gone to *St. Malo*, to take ſhip for *England*, and requeſt a ſuccour from king *Henry* VII. But he alter'd his deſign upon the arrival of 1500 men from the king of the *Romans*, under the command of *Baudoin*, baſtard of *Burgundy*. He judged it adviſeable to attempt the ſuccour of *Nantes*, and having joined to the 1500 men of the king of the *Romans*, between 4 and 5000 *Brittons*, that came to offer him their ſervices, he march'd to *Nantes*, and entered it without any oppoſition, by a paſſage which the *French* had left unguarded for want of troops. The king upon advice of the entry of this ſuccour, and of the ſlackneſs of the *Brittons* that join'd with the *French* in the ſiege of *Nantes*, and of the large and continual deſertions they made, ſent them an order to break up.

The generals withdrawing from before *Nantes*, ſeparated their troops, and quarter'd them in ſeveral towns of *Brittany* for refreſhment. The chief were *Vitré*, *Vannes*, *Dol*, *Ploermel*, and *St. Aubin du Cormier*.

The king had ſufficient amends for raiſing the ſiege of *Nantes*, by the advantage which the lord of *Candale* the king's lieutenant in *Guyenne* gain'd over the lord *d' Albret*, who march'd at the head of 4000 men to ſuccour the duke of *Burgundy*. *Candale* join'd him at the *Chateau de Nantron*, upon the confines of *Angoumois*, and *Limouſin*, and ſo beſet him, Jaligni.

A. D. 1487. that he had no way left but to submit. He promised no more to take up arms against the king, and gave hostages for the security of his promise. The king was not very well satisfied with this capitulation; for he expected that the lord of *Candale* would make himself master of the person of the lord *d' Albret*, and was ravished with the thoughts of having a man in his power, whose infidelity he had more than once experienced; and the consequence shew'd he was in the right, for the advantage of marrying the heiress of *Brittany* was of such a size and importance, that it engaged this lord to sacrifice every thing in hopes of obtaining it.

This was the only considerable affair transacted there; but *des Cordes*, who commanded upon the frontiers of *Artois*, gave a new proof of his prudence and activity. He surprized *St. Omar*, and *Terouanne*, and defeated the lord of *Raveſtein* near *Bethune*; killed a great number of his men, and took the counts *d' Egmont* and *Naſſau*, the lord *de Boſſu*, and some other persons of note, prisoners. *D' Urfé*, great master of the horse in *France*, after eight days siege, took possession of the town and castle of *Coucy*, which belonged to the duke of *Orleans*. It was a very strong place, and they were under great apprehensions, lest the governor should be reinforced by the king of the *Romans*.

The battles were succeeded by negotiations, during the winter season, as usual. The duke of *Brittany* entered into a new treaty with the lord *d' Albret*. He sent also into *England* to sound the inclinations of *Henry* VII. who, in regard to the obligations he owed to *France* for his elevation to the throne, did not seem very forward in his interests. He sent the count *de Comines* to *France*, with proposals of peace, which were rejected; but he had better success with the marshal *de Rieux*, and some other *Britton* lords, who hearing that the king had a design to make himself master of *Brittany*, reconciled themselves with their duke.

This was a stroke of great importance for the duke of *Brittany*, and wonderfully changed the posture of his affairs. The marshal *de Rieux*, to give a proof of his reconciliation with the duke, joined the

the duke of *Orleans* in the recovery of some of the towns which the *French* had seized, and they retook *Ancenis*, *Chateaubriant* and *Vannes*. At the same time the lord *d'Albret* arrived by sea with some vessels he had hired at *Fontarabia*, and brought with him 4000 men. As soon as he came to *Nantes*, his company of fifty men of arms, that were in *Brittany* among the king's troops, deserted, and came to join him; but as soon as the *French* army, consisting of 12000 chosen men, was entred *Brittany*, their conquests were at an end. *A. D.* 1487. Vie de Louis de Tremouille.

This lord retook *Chateaubriant* and *Ancenis*, and demolished them. Another negotiation also was proposed, but to no purpose; and the lord *de la Tremouille* went to lay siege to *Fougeres*, one of the strongest towns upon the frontier of *Brittany*, which was, in a manner, the key to it, on the *French* side. He took it in eight days, contrary to the duke of *Brittany*'s expectation, who had depended upon a long resistance.

The duke of *Orleans* advanced immediately to give him battle, which the lord of *Tremouille* readily accepted. The two armies came in sight of each other on *July* 28. about *St. Aubin*, and engaged there. The fight was obstinate: The *Britton* infantry performed very well, but the horse abandon'd them upon the first charge, which determin'd the victory on the side of the *French* army; 5500 *Brittons* fell upon the place, and 1500 *French*; but that which completed the victory, was the taking of the duke of *Orleans*, and the prince of *Orange*, who fought on foot at the head of the infantry. The duke of *Orleans* was imprison'd in the castle of *Lusignan*, and the prince of *Orange* at the *Pont de Cé*. An. 1488. Argentre Hist. de Bretagne, l. 12. c. 452. Hist. de Jalligni.

The taking of the duke of *Orleans* was matter of extreme joy to madam *de Beaujeu*, who had now no competitor in the government. For the future I shall call her dutchess of *Bourbon*, because the duke of *Bourbon*, constable of *France*, dying some time after the battle of *St. Aubin* without lawful issue, the lord *de Beaujeu* his brother took the title of that dutchy, and became head of the house of *Bourbon*.

La Tremouille took the advantage of his victory. *Dinan* surrender'd without a stroke, and *St. Malo* af-

A. D. 1488. ter some days siege. Several other small towns were also subdued. The duke of *Brittany* had thoughts of repairing to *England*; but his age and infirmities determined him not to leave *Nantes* whatever happen'd.

He sent ambassadors to the king, and a conference concerning a peace was held at *Verger*, a castle in *Anjou*. The king's right to *Brittany* was mention'd there, but the discussion of this capital article was with his consent put off to another time; because the question chiefly turned upon restoring peace to *Brittany*. The accommodation was agreed to upon the following conditions.

Jaligni. That the duke of *Brittany* should immediately dismiss all the strangers which he had sent for, to make war upon the king. This had relation to the lord *d' Albret*'s troops, those of the king of the *Romans*, and some *English* that had gone over to *Brittany*, without the king of *England*'s orders; but at the same time without his endeavouring to hinder them.

That the duke should not dispose of his daughters without the agreement and consent of the king. This article was of the last importance, and broke all the duke of *Orleans*'s measures, and those of the lord *d' Albret*, and the king of the *Romans*; for this reason they made the greatest provision for the due observance of it.

That the king should continue in possession of *St. Malo*, *St. Aubin*, *Dinan*, *Fougeres*, and some other towns, which he had taken in *Brittany*.

This treaty was concluded *Aug.* 28. but the death of the duke of *Brittany*, which happen'd ten or eleven days after, produced many other consequences. The issue of this incident I shall relate hereafter, when I have mention'd what passed in the *Low Countries* during this expedition of *Brittany*.

Matters could not have taken a happier turn for the king, nor in a manner more proper to prevent the diversion which the king feared from that side.

The civil war there was broke out again more furiously than ever. The states of *Flanders* joined together against the king of the *Romans*, who was seized at *Bruges*, and imprison'd by the citizens.

This

This news being carried into *Germany*, the emperor *Frederick* prepar'd to march with his army; and pope *Innocent* VIII. at his instance, sent a monitory into *Flanders*, in which he commanded the *Flemmings* to set the prince at liberty, upon pain of excommunication. *A. D.* 1488. Harœus Annal. Brabant.

The states of *Flanders*, from the time of this new revolt, transacted nothing but in concert with the lord *des Cordes*, who furnished them with troops upon all occasions; and by his advice, they sent this monitory to the parliament of *Paris*. Appel. de Procureur General contre un monitoire au mois de May.

The attorney-general appealed from it, as far as shou'd be necessary, to the pope, better informed. He protested against it as a subreptitious paper, injurious to the king's authority, and to his independency in temporals upon all other powers but God alone; and these proceedings render'd the monitory wholly useless. Some time after the king himself wrote to the pope to complain of it, as an attempt against the rights of the crown. Lettre du Roy, du mois d'Octobre.

In the mean time there arose a cruel war between the *Flemmings* and the other provinces which held out for the king of the *Romans:* But they came at last to a treaty, and the prince was deliver'd, after four months imprisonment, upon conditions very dishonourable to him; one of which was, that he shou'd endeavour by all reasonable methods to make a peace with *France*.

When he saw the emperor his father arrived in the *Low Countries*, he did not think himself obliged by the forced oath, which he had taken. The *Gantois*, who saw plainly there was a storm falling upon them, received of the Lord *des Cordes* 3000 *French* foot and 400 *Gendarmes*. The war broke out anew, and this conjuncture gave the king an opportunity of drawing considerable advantages from the change which the death of duke *Francis* II. had made in *Brittany*.

He had left the marshal *de Rieux* guardian to his two daughters in his will, had given him the count of *Comines* for an assistant, and charged them both to pay a great regard to the count of *Dunois*'s advice.

This was the best method he cou'd take, considering the merit of the persons, and the posture of affairs in *Brittany*, and the melancholy situation in

A. D. 1488. which he left his two daughters, the youngest of whom died in a short time after him. But the eldest with so good a council, had neither money, nor troops, nor allies to assist her; and several Lords turn'd their views upon the court of *France*, which they saw in a condition to make what attempts they pleas'd upon *Brittany*.

The duke's sudden death had prevented the holding a conference for examining into the rights of the king, and *Anne* of *Brittany*, to the succession of the dutchy; and this prince concluding that possession in such contests as these was a great strengthning of the rights of the possessor, sent orders to his troops in *Brittany* and those upon the frontiers, to seize upon all the towns that they were able either to force or surprize. His orders were well executed; and most of the towns of lower *Brittany* surrender'd. *Conquest* and *Brest* were of this number; and in *February* the king came to *Touraine*, to enable himself to enter *Brittany*, whenever he saw a proper opportunity.

Jaligni. An. 1489.

All the hopes of the young dutchess, who had scarce any troops afoot, lay in the diversions which she endeavour'd to bring about, and in a succour of 6000 *English*, which the king of *England*, having penetrated the king's design of seizing the dutchy of *Brittany*, had promised her. Thus the king of the *Romans* surprized *St. Omers*, and the king being informed, that the king and queen of *Castile* were raising an army, was obliged to march his soldiers towards *Fontarabia*.

Jaligni. The king of *England* had offer'd his mediation for accommodating matters between *France* and *Brittany*; but the negotiation upon this subject not succeeding, this prince sent 6000 men into *Brittany*, to the dutchess's assistance, which arrived at *Guerande* in *March*, before the king was able to take the field, and obliged him to abandon several little towns in *Brittany*, to rally his troops in those that were more considerable.

The dutchess having neither money, nor artillery, nor ammunition, the *English* succours served only to put a stop to the progress of the *French* arms, and the whole summer was spent in making irruptions upon the plain country. What the king foresaw, came

to

to pass, *viz.* that the *English* receiving no pay from the dutchess, and not being received into the castles of the *Britton* nobility, who refused to admit them, wou'd be obliged to return back, after the term of their service was expired, which happen'd at *All-saints*. Accordingly they reimbarqued for the most part at this time, without having performed any other feat, than that of ruining the country. *A. D.* 1489

Bacon. hist. de Hen. VII.

During this campaign, the intrigues at the court of *Brittany*, were much more brisk than the war. All those whom the duke upon his death-bed, had appointed to be of council to the princess, were perfectly agreed to hinder the king from making himself master of *Brittany*: But they were very much divided upon the article of her marriage, and this produced very warm differences between them. The marshal *de Rieux* openly countenanced the lord *d'Albret*: But *Montauban* chancellour of *Brittany*, and the counts of *Comines* and *Dunois*, combined together to exclude him, in which they acted agreeably to the princess's inclination; who protested, that the engagements she had enter'd into upon that article, were extorted from her, and that she had rather be a nun than marry him.

The prince of *Orange*'s arrival in *Brittany*, served only to augment these divisions. This prince had obtain'd both his pardon and liberty out of regard to his wife, who was the duke of *Bourbon*'s sister; and being ravish'd with the king's generosity towards him, made his court continually to him. Upon a certain occasion he told him, that if he wou'd permit him to make a journey into *Brittany*, he hoped to be of service to him in that country with the princess *Anne* his cousin german, and by executing his orders, to testify his hearty acknowledgments for the goodness with which he had treated him. The king believed he might trust him, at least for the affair which was the only one then in hand, to prevent the marriage of *Anne* of *Brittany*, with the lord *d'Albret*, and consented to the journey. Nor was he deceived: For as soon as the prince of *Orange* arrived in *Brittany*, he join'd himself to the count of *Dunois* and the chancellour, and made the lord *d'Albret* quit the party. Jaligni.

A. D. 1489. All these intrigues continued to the month of *July*. It is highly probable, that the king finding it very difficult to subdue the dutchy of *Brittany* intirely, by reason of the constant opposition the king of *England* made against him, bethought himself at that time of another method to reunite it to the crown, which was by marrying the princess *Anne* himself.

It was so much the easier for him to conceal his intention in this particular, because he had already enter'd into a solemn engagement with *Margaret* of *Austria* daughter to the king of the *Romans*, their marriage having been concluded on several years before at the last treaty of *Arras*. All the world was persuaded that the marriage of this princess with the king, was only deferred till she became marriageable, he being in his nineteenth year. The king of the *Romans* was exceedingly pleased at the exclusion of the lord *d' Albret*, whom he look'd upon as his only rival after the duke of *Orleans* was imprison'd.

Jalign. This consideration, join'd to the trouble the *Flemmings* gave him, whom he was not able to subdue while they were supported by *France*, determin'd him to make peace with the king; and this prince, on the other hand, to be delivered from such an enemy, promoted it as much as possible. And as the two princes had the same views, the matter succeeded, and a peace was concluded, *July* 22.

The security of the dutchess of *Brittany*, was one of the principal articles of this treaty. She was to be restored to the possession of all the towns in the hands of the late duke her father at the time of his death; but this was granted upon condition that all the *English* shou'd depart *Brittany*. As for *St. Malo*, *Fougeres*, *Dinan*, and *St. Aubin*, it was stipulated, that as soon as the princess had dismissed the *English*, and given security for her fidelity, these towns shou'd be put into a state of neutrality, and be sequestred into the hands of the duke of *Bourbon* and the prince of *Orange*, who shou'd keep them; the first in the name of the king, and the second in the name of the king of the *Romans*, till such time as the difference between the king and the dutchess, touching these towns, shou'd be decided by the methods of law or arbitration.

There

A. D. 1489.

There were some difficulties attending the execution of this article. The greatest part of the *English* had repassed the sea: But the dutchess had retain'd some of them to furnish the garrisons of her towns during the winter. The king before he wou'd sequestre the towns, insisted upon all the *English* in general departing *Brittany*. The dutchess on the contrary urged, that having already sent away a great part of them, she had began to execute the treaty, and cou'd not in prudence intirely unfurnish the towns in her possession, before the king had evacuated those that were to be given up, in which he had large garrisons, and such as she had great reason to be afraid of: And as each side insisted resolutely upon their pretensions, the hostilities broke out anew.

In the mean time, the king of the *Romans* pursued his marriage with the princess *Anne* more briskly than ever. And the affair was the more forwarded by the princess's full resolution to espouse him, as the most advantageous choice she cou'd make, to support her against the king of *France*, and also the only match she cou'd from thenceforth think of with pleasure. The king shew'd no inclinations to oppose it. The negotiation was openly carried on; and at length in *March* or *April*, the count *Nassau* and *Voltzang de Polheim* publickly espous'd the princess in the name of the king of the *Romans*.

An. 1490. Charte de Bretagne rapportée par d'Argentre.

This marriage irritated the lord *d' Albret* to the highest degree, and determined him by way of revenge to reconcile himself to the king, who readily granted him his pardon at the price of the castle and town of *Nantes*, which he deliver'd up to him in *May*.

Procuration de Maximilian Roy des Romains, &c.

This loss strangely alarmed the dutchess, who wrote to the kings of *Castile*, the *Romans*, and *England*, for succours. They all promised to comply with her request, but it could not be done soon; she heard that the king was drawing together his forces, and made no doubt but his design was to fall upon *Brittany*.

The king of the *Romans* was the person most concerned to defend this state: But he had neither troops nor money, and besides, the *Low Countries* were beginning their revolts again. It was an unlucky accident for him; however, depending always upon his marriage already solemniz'd by proxy, and upon the assistance

A. D. 1490. assistance which the king of *England* had promised the dutchess, he went the readiest way to work, which was to subdue the rebels. But the face of affairs was greatly changed by the king's resolving to marry the heiress of *Brittany* himself: This was what the king of the *Romans* cou'd by no means foresee, for the reasons above given; to which we may add another, *viz.* the hatred which he knew the dutchess bore to the king. But the maxims of state daily produce as strange consequences and alterations, as that before us.

The king of the *Romans* was, of all the pretenders to this marriage, the least agreeable to the kingdom of *France*. He was master of the *Low Countries*; and if he had been the same of *Brittany*, he would have kept *France*, as it were besieged by the two extremities; and seconded by the king of *England*, and the king of *Castile*, who had at that time serious thoughts of recovering the possession of *Cerdagne* and *Roussillon*, the kingdom would have had reason to fear a general assault, capable of shaking it. This danger cou'd not have been prevented, if the king of the *Romans*, after espousing the princess by Proxy, had come to *Brittany*, and married her in person. He might have done this, but with some danger, which was the reason that prevented him.

The pressing circumstances of the present conjuncture, obliged the king to come immediately to a resolution. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. The count of *Dunois*, and the prince of *Orange* served him admirably well, without opening the matter to the dutchess, who they knew had an aversion to this Prince: But they demanded one condition of the king, which was, to set the duke of *Orleans* at liberty.

The dutchess of *Bourbon*, and the admiral *de Graville*, enemies to the duke of *Orleans*, opposed this release with all their power; the more, because they had perceived, for some time, that their authority with the king was diminish'd.

Lettres de Charles VIII. rapportées dans les observations sur Jaligni, pag. 598.

This prince was in his nineteenth year, and had spirit and penetration enough to begin to discover the intrigues of the court. He perceived the motives that worked upon the dutchess of *Bourbon* and the admiral, and thought himself obliged, upon so important an occasion, to shew that he was master.

He

He took advice upon it of the lord *de Miolans*, and *Rene de Coſſé*, grand-maſter of the *Pantry*, who had both of them a great ſhare of credit with him. They confirmed him ſtrenuouſly in this reſolution, and gave him eſpecially to underſtand, that this intended ſtroke of authority would ſerve to let the whole court know, that for the future he would govern by himſelf, and that all favours ſhould hereafter paſs immediately from his own hands. *A. D.* 1490. S. Gelais Hiſt. de Louis XII.

He was then at his palace of *Pleſſis* near *Tours*, from whence he ſet out one afternoon, under pretence of going a hunting; went and lay at *Mount Richard*, and advanced as far as *Pont de Barangon*, from whence he diſpatch'd the lord *d' Aubigni* to *Bourges*, with orders to the governour of the great tower to deliver the duke of *Orleans* into his hands.

Immediately this prince was brought away to *Pont de Barangon*, where he threw himſelf at the king's feet; thank'd him with teſtimonies of the moſt ſenſible acknowledgments, and aſſured him of his moſt perfect attachment to him, of his ſubmiſſion to his orders, and an inviolable fidelity in his ſervice.

This flight ſtrangely ſurpriz'd the dutcheſs of *Bourbon*; but ſhe knew how to put a good countenance upon the matter, and appeared not the leſs forward, both to approve what had been done, and to congratulate the duke of *Orleans* upon it, who for his part returned her compliments with equal marks of kindneſs, tho' he did not believe her to be ſincere. His three years impriſonment had made him reflect often upon his paſt conduct; and he had taken time to conſider of his true intereſts, which, in the main, were the ſame with thoſe of the king and ſtate, ſeeing he was preſumptive heir of the crown; beſides, he had as good a heart as underſtanding, and reſolved to renounce all caballing, and to devote himſelf ſolely to the king, in whom he had diſcovered ſeveral excellent qualities at the conferences he had with him.

Aſſoon as the count of *Dunois*, and the prince of *Orange* heard of the duke of *Orleans*'s releaſe, they purſued the affair of the king's marriage with more application than ever, and gain'd the marſhal *de Rieux*, and the chancellor *de Montauban* by motives for the Argentre l. 12.

A. D. 1490. the good of the state, and by the particular advantages, which they assured them of from the king.

By the union of these four lords, who composed the princess's whole council, the matter was far advanced; but they foresaw it would be difficult to procure her consent; for, young as she was, she already shew'd a great deal of spirit, grandeur of soul, and resolution: She had an inclination to *Maximilian*, and an aversion for the king; hated the *French* nation, and was withal of a nice and tender conscience.

Upon the first mention of it, she refused, broke out into complaints against the king and the *French*, who had ruin'd the dutchy; represented to them what alliances she had made with the kings of *Castile* and *England*; but especially insisted upon the marriage she had contracted with the king of the *Romans* in the face of the church; and declared, she could not be perswaded to perplex her conscience in so nice a point.

These difficulties they endeavour'd to remove, by reasons drawn from her own particular advantage, and from the safety and repose of her subjects; and with regard to her conscience, they told her, that the dissolution of a marriage, not consummated, and contracted only by proxy, was not without precedent; that there were never stronger reasons to authorize such a dispensation, than at the present conjuncture; and that she was at liberty to consult the wisest, most pious, and best qualified persons in her dutchy upon the point.

These reasons staggered, but did not convince her; and the count of *Dunois* seeing evidently that she would come to no conclusion, unless forced and necessitated to it; sent the king word, that he must speedily enter *Brittany* with a large army, before the king of *England* was in a condition to send fresh succours thither.

The king was in perfect readiness; the forces march'd expeditiously, and came in sight of *Rennes*, where the princess then was. There was no prospect of assistance timely enough to deliver her. The chief of her council said it would be obstinacy to resist, so they came to a parley; and the duke of *Orleans*, notwithstanding his old pretensions, was one of those that negotiated with her.

At

At length, having again heard the opinions of her council, the principal of which were either the propoſers of this marriage, or had been gained over, ſhe ſubmitted, and agreed to marry the king. There was nothing more remained but to draw up the marriage articles, and thoſe of the union of *Brittany* with the *French* crown. *A. D.* 1490.

The eſſential points of this treaty were, that *Anne* of *Brittany*, in regard to the honour done her by this marriage, ſhould reſign to the king and his ſucceſſors for ever, without power of revocation, by way of gift, all her right in the dutchy of *Brittany*; and that notwithſtanding ſhe ſhould die before him, without having any iſſue by him.

That the king in like manner ſhould reſign to the ſaid lady all the right that he had to the dutchy of *Brittany*, irrevocably and for ever, in caſe that he died before her, and without any iſſue begotten of this marriage; but this however, upon condition that ſhe did not marry a ſecond time, any other but the ſucceeding king; which if it ſhould prove impracticable, as in the inſtance of that prince's being already married, that then ſhe ſhould not diſpoſe of her ſelf to any but the next preſumptive heir of the crown, upon condition that her ſaid husband ſhould hold the dutchy of *Brittany* of the crown of *France*, and not alienate it, but by ſurrendring it up into the hands of the king then in being, or his ſucceſſors. Monſieur de Brienne a la Bibliotheque du Roy. Vol. cotté 298, 299.

Thirdly, that in caſe *Anne* of *Brittany* ſhould ſurvive the king, he leaving iſſue behind him of the preſent marriage, that then ſhe ſhould always have poſſeſſion of the dutchy, as of a ſtate that belong'd to her.

A treaty alſo was concluded between the king and the ſtates of *Brittany*, for the confirmation of the privileges, cuſtoms, and other liberties of the people of *Brittany*. After which the dutcheſs was conducted to *Langey* in *Tourain*, where the marriage was celebrated, *December* 13. 1491. She was crowned afterwards in the royal abby of *St. Denys*, and the next day, being *Feb.* 9. made her entry into *Paris* with a great deal of magnificence. Nothing was omitted that might conduce to remove the concern ſhe was in at this marriage; and the king always behav'd An. 1491. S. Gelais Hiſt. de Louis XII. An. 1492.

A. D. 1492. hav'd so handsomly towards her, that she had never any cause to repent.

We may easily guess at the thoughts of *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, upon the news of *Anne* of *Brittany*'s marriage with the king of *France*. He was deprived, when he least expected it, of a most accomplish'd princess, possessed of a very considerable principality. Besides this, the king offer'd him another affront in the person of *Margaret* of *Austria* his daughter, who at that time bore the title of madam *la Dauphine* at the court of *France*, and whose place *Anne* of *Brittany* assum'd upon the throne of that kingdom. These injuries transported him beyond the dignity of his rank, which required rather his acting than talking upon such an occasion; but he did both.

Registres du Parlement de l'an. 1483. Juin. Bacon Hist. Hen. VII.

He sent ambassadors into *Spain* and *England*, to stir up the two kings against *France*. The king of *Spain* made no great haste, because he had a mind to secure his conquest of *Granada*, from whence he had been driving the *Moors*. The king of *England* seem'd more forward, not so much out of inclination to engage himself in a war against the king, as to convince the *English* that he was not too sensible of the obligation he owed to *France* for his crown.

He passed the sea with 25000 men, and as soon as he arrived at *Calais*, published a letter from his envoy at the court of the king of the *Romans*, in which he informed him, that there was no hopes of any assistance from that prince, who had neither troops nor money. He did the same by another, which he had received from *Spain*, to let him know, that the treaty for the restitution of *Rousillon* and *Cerdagne*, between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, was in great forwardness, and that there was no hopes of a diversion there. By this means he engaged his council to make a proposal to him themselves of a peace with *France*, which he consented to, and it was concluded at *Estaples*. The lord of *Cordes*, whom the king had lately made marshal of *France*, was one of the persons employed in this negotiation.

By this treaty it was stipulated, that the peace between the two kings should continue for the whole term of both their lives; for the life of the survivor,

vivor, and a year after his death. The king of *Romans* had the liberty to enter into this treaty: And in this case it was agreed, that notwithstanding the treaty, if the king of *France* should attack the king of the *Romans*, then the king of *England* should be allowed to send this prince succours; but if the king of the *Romans* was the aggressor, he should not be assisted by the king of *England*. This peace was purchased by the king, at the price of 745000 crowns, each of which was worth 35 pence *French*; and the king thought he had made a good bargain, to continue in peaceable possession of all *Brittany*. *A. D.* 1492. Du Tillet Recueil de traites, &c.

In the mean time the archduke surprized *Arras*, and met with the same bad success he had done at *Amiens*. The king was in a condition to revenge himself of so feeble an enemy, as was then the king of the *Romans*; but he had reasons to the contrary. Haræus in Annal. Brabant.

He was thinking of another war, in which it was necessary his neighbours should not be jealous of him, and he hoped to make a glorious atchievement of it. This was in order to a conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, to which he was resolved to assert the rights of the house of *Anjou*. Without doubt it was a very unseasonable mistake; and that which made his conduct more blameable in this respect, was, his entring into two disadvantageous treaties, out of an impatient desire to commence this war with all speed; one with the king of *Castile*, the other with the king of the *Romans*; and for the sole expectation of a conquest, which he never kept, abandoning to these two princes considerable countries in his possession, which cover'd his dominions, and which they were not in a condition to rescue out of his hands, considering the happy posture of his affairs.

He consented to restore the king of *Castile*, *Rousillon* and *Cerdagne*, which had been mortgaged to *Lewis* XI. for the reasons mention'd in the history of the reign of that prince. This restitution was agreed to upon several conditions, the chief of which were, that *Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon* and *Castile* should in general declare against whosoever made war with the king of *France*: But *Ferdinand* did by no means keep his word afterwards. Dans les MSS. de Brienne Vol. cot. 969.

Almost

A. D. 1493.

Almost at the same time, peace was made with the king of the *Romans* at *Senlis*. By this peace he renounced the earldoms of *Artois*, *Burgundy*, and *Charolois*, which should have been the portion of *Margaret* of *Austria*, if he had married her; however, he kept the old city of *Arras*, by a special right he had to that part of *Arras*, which, as I have elsewhere observed, is separated from the town by a wall and a ditch; and put a governor into it.

Margaret of *Austria* was reconducted with great honour to *Flanders*, and four years after married to *John*, son of the king of *Castile*, and afterwards to *Philbert* duke of *Savoy*.

These two treaties being concluded, the king thought of nothing but his expedition to *Naples*. He was perswaded to it by two of his favourites, *Stephen de Vesc*, * and *William Briçonnet*: But to do this latter justice in the affair before us, which was looked upon by every body as a rash enterprize, he changed his opinion, and it was not owing to him that it was not prevented.

* This name is wrong written in our historians, who call it Vers, or Vest. But it should be *Vesc*, as appears by a Letter written and signed with his own hand, in the *Memoires de Bethune*, *vol.* 8456. *pag.* 8.

After all, this war was not solely the effect of the young king's vivacity and ambition: The disturbances and misunderstandings of some of the *Italian* princes, and the offers they made him, were the motives that prevail'd upon him to follow his inclinations in this respect.

Italy had now enjoyed more quiet and tranquillity for above 20 years, than for several ages before. The little principalities, which were erected there in great numbers, were for the most part agreed among themselves about their respective limits, and thought only of maintaining themselves in their possession, and preserving peace in the country; and they had all one general view, *viz.* to support each other against the strongest; nay, and those very states themselves, which were the *Venetians*, the pope, and the king of *Naples*, concurred in the same design, thro' their natural jealousy, which put them upon their guard against the least attempts of any of them, to aggrandize their power. They were always ready to succour that which was in danger of being oppressed; so that among all these different potentates, they preserved

ſerved a ballance between themſelves, which was no ſooner moved, than every one did his part to ſettle it again. *A. D.* 1493.

They were eſpecially beholden for the ſucceſs of this policy for the publick good to *Laurentius de Medicis*, who with great wiſdom and policy governed the republick of *Florence*. Pope *Innocent* VIII. alſo contributed much to it; and both of them, while they lived, endeavour'd with extreme care and application, to maintain this tranquillity, preventing, or ſtifling as much as poſſible all occaſions of diſorder. Guicciardin. l. 1.

The *Venetians*, as they were the moſt powerful, ſo were they alſo the moſt formidable; and their deſign of making themſelves maſters of the empire of *Italy* had been diſcover'd upon ſeveral occaſions; which determined *Ludovicus Sforcius*, who had got poſſeſſion of the ſtate of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, to make an alliance with each other, though this prince had a particular reaſon to be *Ludovic*'s enemy, who conſtantly kept the adminiſtration of the dutchy of *Milan* in his own hands, to the prejudice of *John Galeaſſe* his nephew, duke of *Milan*, to whom he was guardian, and who had married *Ferdinand*'s grand-daughter. This young prince was already twenty years of age, and in vain preſſed *Ludovic* to reſtore him the government of his ſtate. The king of *Naples* would have readily taken in hand ſo juſt a cauſe, in which the dutcheſs his grand-daughter was concern'd: But his own Intereſt, and the apprehenſions he was under from the *Venetians*, made him overlook this conſideration, to join in a league with *Ludovic*.

This league was only defenſive; almoſt all the little ſtates of *Italy* had entred into it, and ſigned it for twenty five years. *Laurentius de Medicis*, and *Innocent* VIII. were very careful to have it obſerved, for the reaſons above given, for the ſafety and repoſe of *Italy*; but both of them dying within the ſpace of ſome months, it began to be fear'd that their ſucceſſors had not the ſame views and authority to maintain the peace.

Indeed *Peter de Medicis*, ſon of *Laurentius*, tho' a perſon of merit, wanted both the experience and

A. D. 1493. moderation of his father. *Innocent* VIII's succeſſor was *Roderick Borgia*, nephew of pope *Calixtus* III. This new pope took the name of *Alexander* VI. He was of ſuch a diſpoſition as might be exceedingly uſeful or prejudicial to *Italy*, in the ſituation it was then in, according as he exerted his good or bad qualities; for he was endowed with both, and that in a ſupreme degree.

Ludovicus Sforcius, adminiſtrator of the dutchy of *Milan*, was under great apprehenſions that the pope, *Peter de Medicis*, and *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* would unite againſt him. It was natural for an uſurper, as he was, to fall into ſuch kind of ſuſpicions, nor were his conjectures either ill grounded or falſe. And if the king of *Naples* could have long ſince had the aſſiſtance of the pope and the *Florentines*, he would have made no ſcruple to fall upon *Ludovic*, to compel him to reſtore the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Milan* to *John Galeaſſe* his grand-daughter's huſband, to whom it belong'd beyond all contradiction.

Ludovic, to prevent this danger, negotiated a league between him, the pope, and the republick of *Venice*. The *Venetians* readily came into it, thinking thereby to ruin the general league before ſpoken of, which was made chiefly with a view to their power; but *Ludovic* did not ſtop there.

He gave the pope to underſtand, that he hoped in vain to gain the king of *Naples*, and to perſwade him to contribute to the advancement of his family: He laid before him how much better a proſpect there was of ſucceeding in ſuch a view at the court of *France*, the prince of which was known to have a deſign of vindicating his right to the kingdom of *Naples*; that if he aſſiſted him in gaining this conqueſt, he would obtain from him the principality, which he aimed at in this ſtate for his ſon, and which the preſent king of *Naples* would never grant him: That if the enterprize ſhould not ſucceed, he might be aſſured, at leaſt, of a conſiderable eſtabliſhment in the kingdom of *France*, for whomſoever he ſhould nominate out of his family; that he had nothing to fear from the *French* expedition into *Italy*, becauſe it would be always in his power to turn the ballance on which ſide he thought proper; and that for his own

own part, he promised to govern himself absolutely in this affair by his holiness's views; and as he was master of the *Milaneze*, it would be always in his power to make the king of *France*'s projects miscarry whensoever he pleased. *A. D.* 1493.

Ludovic, by perswading the pope to enter into the king of *France*'s interests, merited that prince's favour and protection, which secur'd to him the peaceable possession of the *Milaneze*, and removed from him all apprehensions of the king of *Naples*, upon whom he raised the storm. He took the pope by his weak side, which was an extreme passion for the raising his family; and it was principally by this motive that he prevail'd upon him: But notwithstanding the league he had made with the *Venetians*, he carried on this intrigue with the pope without their knowledge.

As soon as the matter was resolved upon between them, they sent some persons of trust to *France*, to learn how the king stood affected in the affair. His inclinations exactly answer'd their wishes: After this, *Ludovic* sent the counts *de Beljoyeuse* and *Cajazze* upon an embassy to the king, who at their publick audience, only complimented him in the name of their master; but treated in private with *Briçonnet*, and *de Vesc*; and notwithstanding the opposition of several of the chief persons in the king's council, the expedition for the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples* was agreed and concluded on. Guicciardin loc. cit.

By the treaty, *Ludovic* oblig'd himself to pass the *French* army thro' the *Milaneze*; to furnish out, and keep in pay, at his own expence, 500 men in arms to join the *French* forces; to suffer the king to fit out a fleet at *Genoa*, as numerous as he pleased; and to send him 200000 ducats, before his departure from *France*. The king, on the other hand, engaged himself to defend the *Milaneze* against all opposers; to maintain *Ludovic* in possession of it, and to keep 200 soldiers in *Ast*, a town belonging to the duke of *Orleans*, during the war, which should be always in readiness to succour *Ludovic* upon occasion: In a word, he gave him the promise of the principality of *Tarentum*, in case the kingdom of *Naples* should be conquer'd.

A. D. 1493. Whatever pretences were us'd to disguise the embassy of the counts *de Beljoyeuse*, and *de Cajazze*, the *Italian* princes soon discover'd the true motive: This expedition became the discourse of all those courts, and the occasion of a great many negotiations. *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, whom the danger threaten'd, affected to appear very secure; but he was in no condition to divert it.

He sent *Cavallo Pandonê* to *France*, to offer the king a tribute in his name, and indeed to propose a compliance with all he cou'd desire. He treated with the pope, the king of *Spain*, the Senate of *Venice*, and *Ludovic* himself, though he knew him to be the author of the whole intrigue.

Guiceiard, c. 1. He was very uneasy about the success of so many negotiations. The court of *France* sent him no agreeable answer. The pope's behaviour troubled him; for though he promised him privately to assist him against *France*, in case of an attack, yet he was continually importuning him with new demands: By which he discovered that the advances this pope had made to the court of *France*, were design'd only to obtain that from him by force, which he cou'd not procure by courtesie.

From *Venice* he receiv'd only a general answer. *Ludovic* seem'd stagger'd at the offer he made of leaving him in possession of the *Milaneze:* But his answers were so subtle and changeable, that he durst not trust to them. The king of *Spain* was the only prince that seem'd frank and open in promising him assistance. However, he thought *Ludovic* was regain'd, when he saw him entring into an alliance with *Maximilian* of *Austria*, the grand enemy of *France*, lately become emperor by the death of his father *Frederick*. For *Ludovic* at that time married *Blanche Mary* his niece, sister of the young duke of *Milan*, to *Maximilian*, who for a large sum of money he receiv'd from him, gave him the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan*, and deprived the lawful heir of it for pretences too long to be mention'd here, and not much for this emperor's honour.

A prince of *Ludovic*'s character, who sacrificed every thing to his ambition, even to the poisoning the young duke his nephew, as he did some time after,

ter, did not look upon deceit and cozenage as a crime, which no prince ever practis'd more. *A. D.* 1493.

His whole business was to amuse *Ferdinand*, the pope, and *Peter de Medicis* his mediator with him; and to encourage the king, who might be suspicious of several steps that he had taken. He was desirous of continuing *Ferdinand*'s hopes, to give the king time for making his preparations: But then he was fully resolved to take his own precautions against the king, and to prevent the success of his enterprize, if it was his interest so to do.

In the mean time the king sent *Perron de Basche*, a man acquainted with the affairs of *Italy*, to *Venice*, to sound the inclinations of that republick touching his expedition, with orders to ask their advice upon it, and their assistance if they approved of it: But these sage politicians were not so easily to be gain'd: They were not sorry for the war; but they hoped to reap an advantage by it, as they did, without any expence or contribution, unless in the utmost necessity. They answer'd, that it was not their part to give advice to so great a king; that as for assisting him in this expedition, they cou'd not do it for fear of the *Turks*; but that they shou'd be glad to see him in *Italy*, and shou'd be more disposed to assist him, than traverse his designs. Comines, l. 7. c. 4.

The envoy, in pursuance of his orders, went also to *Rome* and *Florence*. The pope, tho' he had partly been the author of the war, gave only general answers. *Peter de Medicis* was for the same reserve; but the envoy talk'd more big with him, and repeated to him what the king had said to the agents of *Florence* in *France*, viz. *That he hoped their Republick wou'd at least furnish him with an hundred men of arms, and pass his army, paying for their provisions.* Guicciardin. l. 1.

Peter de Medicis foresaw what wou'd be the consequence of a refusal, to have all the *Florentines* immediately expelled *France* at the expence of the commerce which inriched the republick; by which means all the people of *Florence* wou'd be excited to revolt against him. Upon this he resolved to spin out the time, and told them that he wou'd send an answer to the king by an envoy, whom he wou'd dispatch express to him.

A. D. 1494. *Ferdinand* was well pleased with his behaviour upon this occasion; but his concern increased upon him, when he heard at the beginning of the year that there was no hopes of a peace; and that the king had order'd the *Neapolitan* ambassadors presently to depart the kingdom. This news struck him so to the quick, that he fell ill of an apoplexy, and died a few days after, aged above seventy years.

Ferdinand's death wou'd have made some alteration in affairs, if his son *Alphonsus* had not been as much hated and feared by his neighbours, as he was; all the *Italian* princes being perswaded that his ambition was equal to his father's, and his moderation to restrain it, less.

All these prejudices were unfavourable to him: But the pope's conduct and behaviour towards him was the thing principally regarded; that was extraordinary and altogether mysterious; for having till that time appear'd very fickle, sometimes seeming to favour the king of *France*'s expedition, and sometimes to incline to the king of *Naples*, upon the present occasion he acted in a manner inconsistent with it self. He levied soldiers in concert with *Ludovic*, at the common expence of both, for the defence of their states, and gave the command of them to *Prosper Colonne*, who was then in the interest of *France*.

Corius. Commines, l. 7. He sent *Briçonnet*, upon the king's demand, a promise of the cardinalate sign'd by the sacred college; notwithstanding which, he granted at the same time the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Alphonsus*, and commission'd a legate to crown him.

During all these motions, which gave umbrage to the courts of *Italy*, the king had made great preparations; but what was much below the nature of so vast and dangerous an enterprize as this, the *Rendezvous* was given to the forces at *Lyons*, whither the king repaired himself in *July*. The duke of *Bourbon* was declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the king's absence, and the duke of *Orleans* had orders to follow him.

Dés Roy. *Relation du voyage de* Charles VIII.

The marshal *des Cordes* was to have been one of the commanders under the king; but he died at *Lyons*. The rest were *Lewis de la Tremouille*, the marshals *de Gyé* and *de Rieux*, the duke of *Orleans*, and *d'Aubigny*

d'Aubigny the *Scot*, all men of uncommon merit in the field, where they had signalized their prudence and valour upon many occasions. *A. D.* 1494.

The king march'd thro' *Piemont*, and arrived at *Aſt* on the ninth of *September*, where he fell ill of the ſmall pox; but at the end of ſix or ſeven days he was out of danger. He ſent ambaſſadors before him to the ſeveral ſtates of *Italy*, with orders to declare that he had no ill deſign upon their towns or liberties; that his only aim was to procure the reſtitution of the kingdom of *Naples*, and that when he had conquered it, his intention was, with God's aſſiſtance, to make war upon the *Turks* for the advantage of Chriſtianity. Theſe ambaſſadors met with no plainer anſwers from the ſenate of *Venice*, the pope, and *Peter de Medicis*, than *Perron de Baſche* had received before them. Comines, l. 7. c. 6.

In the mean time *Alphonſus* of *Arragon*, the new king of *Naples*, made preparations for the war, rais'd ſoldiers, mann'd a fleet; and laying hold of the king's declaration to the princes of *Italy*, *viz.* that he had a deſign to make war upon the *Turks* after the conqueſt of *Naples*, he ſent to *Conſtantinople* to demand aſſiſtance of *Bajazet*. In a word, he reſolved not to wait for the attack, but to be aforehand with the enemy, to take ſuch meaſures as might oblige him to ſtay in *Lombardy*, and by that means to cool the firſt warmth of the *French*. Guicciard. l. 1.

He form'd a deſign of ſurprizing *Genoa*, and in concert with cardinal *de Fregoſe*, *Obietto de Fieſque*, and ſome lords of the houſe of *Adornes*, enemies to *Ludovic*, and no lovers of the *French*, he order'd *Don Frederick* his brother to ſet ſail with a fleet of thirty-five Galleys, and eighteen ſhips well mann'd. In this fleet were 3000 men, deſign'd to join the forces, which the malecontents of *Genoa* levied under-hand.

If this project had ſucceeded, the king cou'd not have advanc'd, becauſe his maritime preparations lay at *Genoa*; he wou'd have loſt his fleet, his great ordnance which was carried in that fleet, and the proviſions which he was to be furniſhed with from thence the greateſt part of his march: But the ſecret was diſcovered by the cardinal of St. *Peter ad vincula*, Julian de la Rovére.

A. D. 1494. who gave *Ludovic* and the *French* fleet advice of it, the first of whom took care to secure *Genoa* and the latter kept themselves upon their guard, and were in a condition to make head against *Frederick*'s fleet.

Guicciard. l. 1.

This prince had an account of all these particulars upon the road, and attack'd *Porto Venere*, where he was repuls'd with loss. Upon this he launched out into the main sea, and having refresh'd and reinforc'd his army at *Leghorn*, he return'd towards *Genoa*, and took *Rapallo*, a weak town, twenty miles from *Genoa*.

In the mean time the duke of *Orleans*, who was to command the *French* fleet, arrived at *Genoa*, fully resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity to signalize himself. As soon as he heard of the enemy's descent upon *Rapallo*, he set sail from the port of *Genoa* with his fleet, and sent some battalions of *Swiss* by land, commanded by the bayliff of *Dijon*, and the *Italian* troops that were in *Ludovic*'s pay.

Comines, l. 7. c. 5.

The land forces did not begin the assault of the port of *Rapallo*, till they saw the fleet off this place to second them. The enemy bore the attack with great vigour; but being wounded in the flank by the artillery of the fleet, they were forced to abandon the port. *Obietto de Fiesque* did not think it advisable to defend *Rapallo*, and repair'd to the mountains, where his forces disbanded. *Frederick* of *Arragon*, before the attack of the port, bore off to attend the success. As soon as he saw his people forced, he set sail for *Leghorn*, and did not venture to make any attempt afterwards.

Such was the first action of this war, which happen'd on the eighth of *September* in the evening; the News of which the king received with great joy at his arrival at *Asti*. It was expected also that the *French* wou'd soon engage the *Neapolitans* in the *Bolonois*: For *d'Aubigny* and the count of *Cajazze* were already come thither with an army, and had incamped within three leagues of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* duke of *Calabria*, and son of the king of *Naples*, who had orders to dispute the passage with them.

Georgii Flori Mediolanen. de exped. Caroli VIII.

Lettre de Briconnet Eveque de S. Malo.

Guicciard. l. 1.

The king being at *Asti*, sent *Comines* to *Venice*, who, in vain, try'd all methods to persuade this republick

publick to declare war againſt the king of *Naples*, and found them immoveable in their reſolution to continue neuter. *A. D.* 1494.

The king of *Arragon*, and *Peter de Medicis*, uſed all their application to create a miſunderſtanding between *Ludovic* and the king, before the *French* army had made any farther advances in *Italy*: No occaſion ever afforded more artifice and pretences of friendſhip. The king was informed of almoſt all that paſſed, and was as much upon his guard againſt *Ludovic*, as againſt his open and declared enemies; but he broke no meaſures with him, becauſe he ſtood in need of him, and eſpecially of his money, having but little himſelf.

The fear which *Ludovic* was under, leſt the *French* army ſhou'd take up their winter quarters in the *Milaneze*, induced him to ſend the king a large ſum of money to pay his troops. He took a review of them, and enter'd upon his march on the ſixteenth of *October*.

The king's march to the kingdom of *Naples* had no other appearance of a military expedition, but that it was performed with an army. In every other reſpect it had the air of a bare journey of a monarch, going to ſhew himſelf to his allies and ſubjects; and they ſtrove every where who ſhou'd give him the moſt reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

Ludovic followed the army to *Placentia*, where news was brought him, that the young duke of *Milan* was a dying, which in all likelihood he expected: Upon this he took leave of the king, and at his arrival found him dead; it was not doubted but he had cauſed him to be poiſon'd. This prince left a ſon of five years old behind him. The age of this young prince was a ſufficient motive for *Ludovic*'s adherents to compel him to aſſume the title of duke, under pretence of the preſent conjunctures: After ſome affected reſiſtance, he conſented to it. But not contenting himſelf with this kind of election, he made a private proteſtation, before he accepted of it, in which he declared that the dutchy belong'd to him, in virtue of the inveſtiture he had already received from the emperor *Maximilian*.

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A. D. 1494. The king being at *Placentia*, received an account that the lords *Colonnes* had declared openly for him against the pope and the king of *Naples*; that *Prosper* and *Fabricius*, two of the most considerable persons of this puissant family, had surprized *Rocca d'Ostia*, a very strong town not far from *Rome*; that they made a vigorous defence at *Nettuno*, where the king of *Naples* had caused them to be besieged; and that this diversion had obliged the pope to recal part of the forces which he had in *Romania* with those of *Naples*. But notwithstanding these favourable accounts, it was deliberated at *Placentia*, whether the king shou'd engage any farther in the affair. There were some very strong reasons for the negative. *Ludovic*'s ill intentions, which were discovered more and more every day, were alone sufficient for this purpose: But the young king consider'd only the glory of attaining the conquest of *Naples*, and how much his reputation wou'd suffer, if he shou'd abandon his attempt, at a time when he had the best prospect of succeeding in it.

Upon this he renew'd his march, and took the road for *Tuscany*, in order to go to *Rome*, and from thence to enter the kingdom of *Naples*. *Peter de Medicis* hearing that the king had taken this road, and some time after that he had forced *Finisano*, a fortress belonging to the republick of *Florence*; that he attack'd *Seresana* and *Seresanello*, began to see the danger that threaten'd him, not only on the part of the king, but also of the *Florentines* themselves, whose hatred he had drawn upon him by the conduct he had observed towards them. The ruin of commerce with *France*, which was so advantageous to the republick; the jealousy of the noble families, which were very impatient at the too great power of that of *Medicis*; the discontent of his nearest relations, whose advice he had despised in making an alliance with the pope and the king of *Naples*, and some of whom were in correspondence with the king; all these considerations made him apprehensive of a speedy fall.

In this unhappy situation he resolved to go to the king, who receiv'd him graciously, but declared, that if he had a mind to merit his friendship, he must renounce the league he had made with the pope and the king

king of *Naples*; that he must deliver up to him *Seresana*, *Serefanello*, and *Pietra-Santa* (which were the keys of the state of the republick of *Florence* on that side) and the castle of *Pisa*, and the port of *Leghorn* besides: And lastly, that he wish'd he cou'd procure him the loan of 200000 ducats from the *Florentines*. *A. D.* 1494.

Medicis agreed to all his demands; the places were deliver'd up, and the rest was performed at the king's arrival at *Florence*. *Ludovic* coming the next day to the camp, was greatly surprized at *Peter de Medicis*'s conduct, and in effect told him so upon their first interview: For *Medicis* saying that he went out of the camp to meet him without seeing any thing of him, and that he most certainly did not come directly thither; one of us then, reply'd *Ludovic*, must be in the wrong; but I believe it is you, who lost your self in the way. They understood each other perfectly well: But *Medicis* was no more at liberty to draw back. Guicciard. l. 1.

The submission of the *Florentines*, the rupture of the triple alliance, and the cession of the towns, were points of the last consequence for the king: For if the three towns had held out, as they might have done, his army must have perished without fail, for want of provisions in a very barren country, and where the fields were already cover'd with snow. In consequence of this treaty, the *Florentine* troops were obliged to quit the duke of *Calabria*'s army; and as the pope had recalled his to guard his frontiers, this duke was forced to repair to *Rome*.

By this means *d'Aubigny* was in a condition to advance with the *French* troops that he commanded; and made himself master of *Romania*; and *Catherine S. Forcius*, Lady of *Imola* and *Forli*, who till then had continued neuter, gave the *French* a free passage into her towns. *Alphonsus* king of *Naples* saw plainly now, that all his methods for removing the War from his kingdom were become unserviceable, and he had nothing to do but to prepare for his defence. Comines, l. 7. c. 6.

The motive of *Ludovic*'s journey to the king's camp, was the investiture of the domain of *Genoa*, and the homage he was to do for it after the example

of

A. D. 1494. of his Predeceſſors, who held it of the crown of *France* from the time of this republick's ſurrendring themſelves to our kings. But beſides this, he had another view, which was, that in caſe the king ſhou'd take *Piſa*, he ſuppoſed he wou'd reſtore it to the republick of *Genoa*, from whom that of *Florence* had wreſted it ſome Years before. But deſigning to take all poſſible advantage of the need the king had of him, he demanded the cuſtody of *Pietra Santa*, *Sereſana*, and *Sereſanello*, which was refuſed him. This refuſal anger'd him, but he diſſembled his reſentment, and returned to *Milan* with a full reſolution to revenge himſelf, or rather to make uſe of this pretence to execute the deſign he had plainly conceived already of trying all means to deſtroy the *French* army, or at leaſt to make the *Neapolitan* enterprize miſcarry.

Guicciard. l. 1.

La Vigne, Journal de Charles VIII.

The ſubmiſſion of the *Florentines* having removed the greateſt difficulties in the king's expedition, he continued his march, and was received at *Lucca* and *Piſa* in a kind of triumph. In this laſt place the inhabitants paid him extraordinary honours, out of hopes that he wou'd deliver them from the yoke of the *Florentines*, which was inſupportable to them. Theſe expectations made them readily accept the king's propoſal to admit ſome forces into the *Chateau-neuf*.

From thence he marched to *Florence*, where there had lately been great diſturbances. *Peter de Medicis* had been forced to depart, his houſes had been pillaged, and he had like to have been tryed as a traytor for delivering up the towns of the republick to the *French*. Certain acts of authority which the king had performed at *Piſa*, and the general promiſes of protection which he had made the *Piſans*, had vaſtly inraged the *Florentines*, who till then were vehemently inclined to the *French*, and had even diſapproved the alliance which *Peter de Medicis* had made with the pope and the king of *Naples*.

Journal du Voyage de Charles VIII.

The king being arrived at the *Pont du Signe*, ſix Miles from *Florence*, ſtopp'd there, and was five or ſix days negotiating; at length it was concluded that he ſhou'd enter into *Florence* in what manner he thought proper, and that they ſhould furniſh the army with all neceſſaries.

He

He continued there ten days, during which time the *French* and *Florentines* being well armed, were day and night upon the watch for fear of being surprized. A new treaty was propoſed and agreed to, and it was ſtipulated, that the king pardoning the republick of *Florence* all that had paſſed, they ſhould enter into an alliance with him, and continue in their antient liberty under his majeſty's protection; that they ſhou'd leave him in poſſeſſion of *Piſa*, *Leghorn*, and the other towns deliver'd up by *Medicis*, till after the conqueſt of *Naples*; and that the king ſhou'd have two agents reſiding at *Florence*, without whoſe privacy the republick ſhou'd neither enter into any negotiation with the other princes or ſtates, nor chooſe themſelves a captain general; that they ſhou'd furniſh the king with 50000 ducats, pardon the inhabitants of *Piſa* for what had been tranſacted with regard to this prince, and repeal the ſentence of confiſcation publiſhed againſt *Peter de Medicis* and all his family; upon condition however that he ſhou'd not come near the limits of the republick, nor his brethren within leſs than a hundred *Italian* miles of the town of *Florence*. Theſe were the principal articles of the treaty, which were ſworn to by the king and the deputies of the republick in the great church. *A. D.* 1494.

The king was received at *Siena* in a very different manner from what he had been receiv'd at *Florence*; and this republick endeavour'd to give him all the proofs of their confiding in his protection, ſo that with the conſent of the inhabitants he left a garriſon there.

On the ſixth of *December* he arrived at *Paillote*, where he found the beſt part of his great equipage that waited for him there, and his great ordnance. The duke of *Calabria* had reſolved to poſt himſelf under *Viterbo*, and to diſpute the paſſage with him, which he was hard put to it to force: But the king was every where attended with ſucceſs; and the duke miſtruſting the pope, upon the news of his having ſent the Biſhops of *Concordia* and *Terni* to treat with the king, march'd back his army to *Rome*.

The pope's envoys propoſed a treaty between the king, the holy ſee, and the king of *Naples*. The king anſwer'd, that he was ready to treat with his holi-

A. D. 1494. holiness, but with no other, and that he wou'd immediately send ambassadors to *Rome* for this purpose: Accordingly he sent the lord *de la Tremouille*, and the president of *Gannay*.

Comines, l. 7. c. 10.

He put some soldiers into the castle of *Viterbo*, and proceeded to *Nepi*, where he found a large quantity of provisions, which were a good accommodation for his army. Here he rested from *Monday* the fifteenth of *December* to the *Friday* following. At length he came within sight of *Rome*, and seized several towns in the adjacent parts, where he dispersed his men. He detach'd *Lewis* count of *Ligni*, and *Yves* of *Alegre* with 2000 *Swiss*, and 500 lances to conduct the cardinal *de la Rovere*, called the cardinal of *S. Peter ad vincula*, to his bishoprick of *Ostia*, who for fear of the pope, his declared enemy, durst not 'till then, venture to reside there. These forces had orders to join the *Colonnes* on the other side the *Tyber*, and to protect the correspondence which those lords had at *Rome*.

Journal du Voyage de Charles VIII.

The pope already surrounded on all sides, found himself extremely embarassed, and knew not what way to take. The vicinity of the *French* army, and the garrison of *Ostia*, which intercepted from *Rome* all provisions by sea, made the people murmur, and produced a great disposition to revolt. Soon after, a part of the wall falling down, made a breach of several fathom in the city; upon which, the pope was necessitated to shift for himself: He saw plainly that this was his case; but the difficulty was how to do it without endangering his person, and dishonouring his dignity.

He knew the king had many reasons to be discontented with his conduct. It was he that at first advised him to the conquest of *Naples*, and had afterwards, without any occasion on the king's part, used all his endeavours to cross his design. He saw the cardinal *de la Rovére*, and some other cardinals, his enemies, in great trust and favour with this prince, all of them persons capable of the most violent resolutions. There was a talk of the means by which he arrived at the pontificate, and of his scandalous behaviour; and it was publickly said that a general council ought to be speedily assembled to depose him.

Paul. Jov.

However,

A. D. 1494.

However, there was a neceſſity for him, either to reſolve upon a peace, or endure a ſiege. He choſe the firſt, and deſir'd the king to ſend him a deputy, to agree upon the conditions.

The marſhal *de Gye*, the ſeneſchal of *Beaucaire*, and the preſident of *Gannay* were fix'd upon for this purpoſe, who encouraged him, but declared at the ſame time, that the king would enter *Rome*. It was neceſſary for him to paſs through it; and the duke of *Calabria* departing on *December* 31. in the morning with his *Neopolitan* troops, the king made his entry in the evening by torch light, at the head of his ſoldiers, who were all armed as if they had been entering an enemy's town. They ſeized all the important poſts, and placed a large guard round the palace of *St. Mark*, where the king took up his lodging; thus gloriouſly the king ended the year 1494.

His deſign was, as ſoon as he came off his horſe, to ſee the pope; but hearing that he had ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, he reſented this procedure, and ſent him a ſummons to deliver up the caſtle: Upon his refuſing, he made his artillery twice advance to batter the place, and would moſt certainly have attack'd it, how difficult ſoever it might be to bring about his deſign, if the pope, diſcouraged by the greatneſs of his danger, and the falling of one part of the wall, which was look'd upon as a ſecond miracle in favour of the king, had not made a new reſolution to treat with him.

By this treaty, the pope declared that he united with the king for the ſecurity of *Italy*, and obliged himſelf to leave him in poſſeſſion of *Viterbo*, *Taracina*, *Civita-Vecchia*, and *Spoleto*; not to moleſt the cardinals, or the lords of the lands belonging to the holy ſee, who had declared for *France*; and to deliver up to him *Zizimus*, brother of *Bajazet* the emperor of the *Turks*, whom the king deſigned to reſerve for the advantage of his intended war upon thoſe infidels, after the conqueſt of *Naples*: But *Zizimus* died ſome days after he had been put into the king's hands. Several conjectures paſs'd upon his death, not very much for the honour of the pope, or the *Venetians*. Some other articles were ſtipulated in regard to the ſecurity of the *French* troops, and thoſe of his party, and with relation

Comines, l. 7. c. 12. ibid.

A. D. 1495.

relation to the restitution of the towns belonging to the holy see, after the conquest of *Naples*.

Upon the signing the treaty, the pope returned to the vatican, whither the king came to pay him a visit on *Tuesday*, *Jan.* 16. In this visit, all the formalities that had been agreed upon were observed; and before the king left the pope, he held a consistory, in which *William Briçonnet* bishop of *St. Malo* was made a cardinal. There were also some other interviews between the pope and the king the following days, and the king assisted at a mass, celebrated pontifically by the pope.

Journal d' un maitre des ceremonies de la Cour de Rome rapporté par Godefroy dans la vie de Charles VIII. & dans les MSS. de Brienne, Vol. cotté, 8439, & 8457.

These ceremonies equally perplexed the pope and the king: They affected all imaginable regard for each other, but yet preserved their dignity and place as much as possible, without dissembling the matter. After all, the pope, who had more regard to his safety than all these formalities, was lavish of his honours to the king upon all occasions, and paid him one piece of respect which surprized all the world.

He gave orders, that every thing should be transacted by this prince's direction while he staid at *Rome*. Justice was administred in his name, and by his officers, those that belonged to the pope not intermeddling; and two gallows were erected at *Rome*, the one in the *Campus Floræ*, and the other in the *Jews Street*, in which were the marks of royal justice.

To judge by outward appearance, there was an intire reconciliation between them; and the pope, to convince the king how much he was resolved to devote himself for the future to his interests, gave him by way of hostage, to attend him to the kingdom of *Naples*, the cardinal *de Valence* his son. This also was one article of the treaty, and this prince thought of nothing but pursuing his enterprize.

He set out from *Rome* on *Wednesday*, *Jan.* 28. having made near a month's stay at *Rome*. His artillery, with a part of his army march'd before, and he followed them at the head of the rest.

La Vigne, Journal de Charles VIII.

The kingdom of *Naples* had continued quiet 'till the king's arrival at *Rome*; but as soon as it was known that the *French* army was marching thro' the *Campagna di Roma*, the malecontents, who hated king *Alphonsus* no less than they had hated his father,

ther, because they were both of a like character for cruelty, avarice, and impiety, took up arms every where. The town of *Aquila*, and all the province of *Abruzzo*, revolted openly, set up the *French* banners every where, and *Fabricius Colonna* took possession of several fortresses in the name of the king. *A. D* 1495. Comines, l. 7. c. 11.

This first rising soon communicated itself to almost the whole realm, in several places of which there still remain'd some of the *Angevin* faction. King *Alphonsus* not knowing how to turn himself, seeing the *French* army approach, and not daring to quit *Naples*, for fear it should follow the example of the rest of the kingdom, took an extraordinary resolution, by which he was in some hopes of reclaiming the people. He quitted his crown, and placed it upon the head of his son *Ferdinand*, a young prince of a brave and generous disposition, and beloved by the *Neapolitans*. He proclaimed him king at *Naples*, and, without any farther stay, fled in his galleys to *Mazara*, in *Sicily*.

In the mean time the king came forward, and arrived at *Veletri* on the twenty ninth of *January*, having dined at *Marigna*; from whence the cardinal *de Valence* escaped, and by his flight gave the king, from that time, an unhappy prejudice against the pope's sincerity, who used all his endeavours to clear himself from having any hand in this escape. The king did not believe him, but took no notice of it; and the more, because, according to the course of affairs, he thought he should hereafter have no great need of him. De la Vigne. Journal de Charles VIII

The king being just arriv'd upon the frontiers of the kingdom, *Engilbert* of *Cleves*, count of *Nevers*, who led the vanguard, began to enter upon action, by the attack of *Montefortino*, and seized it sword in hand. Afterwards he laid siege to the fortress of mount *St. John*, forc'd it with the same vigour, put all to the sword, and reduc'd it to ashes, to terrify the country. Guicciard. l. 1.

The affair succeeded: This execution made the kingdom of *Naples* tremble, and intimidated the new king's army. This young prince had advanc'd as far as *St. German's*, with fifty squadron, and six thousand Infantry, all choice soldiers, and com-

A. D. 1495. manded by good officers, This place was the key of the kingdom of *Naples*, ſtrongly fortified by ſituation, and by three well-built caſtles, encompaſſed partly with marſhes, and partly with mountains very difficult of acceſs. It was neceſſary for him to paſs the river of *Gariglian*, and a very narrow lane, and *Ferdinand* had reſolved to guard this paſſage, or periſh at it. The king was aware of the difficulty in forcing it; but truſting to the bravery of his troops, he march'd up to it.

Comines, l. 7. c. 13. La Vigne. *Lewis* of *Armagnac*, count of *Guiſe*, and afterwards duke of *Nemours*, had that day the command of the vanguard, and came up with two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. As ſoon as he appeared, he immediately ſpread ſo great a terror in the enemy's army, that in ſpite of all *Ferdinand* could do, they disbanded and forſook him, and *St. German's* ſurrender'd. He had no other way to take, but to repair with part of his troops to *Capua*: Some of them, by his orders, got into *Naples* and *Cajeta*; the reſt deſerted.

The difficulty of ſuch conjunctures as theſe is, that there are ſeveral misfortunes to fear at the ſame time, and one cannot be avoided, without falling into the other. *Ferdinand* had fled to *Capua*, as being a ſtrong place, and always well affected to the houſe of *Aragon*; but his preſence would have been neceſſary at *Naples*, to encourage this Capital, which was quite diſmayed at the loſs of *St. German's*. The queen, whom he had left there, wrote to him, and conjured him to come without a moment's delay, to prevent the general revolt of the people, who were upon the point of ſurrendering to the *French*.

Guicciard. l. 1.

Upon this advice, *Ferdinand* ſet out from *Capua*, promiſing the inhabitants to return the next day, and leaving *John James Trivulca*, one of his moſt experienced officers, and whom he moſt confided in, to command in his room. But as ſoon as *Ferdinand* was gone, this lord went to the king, and aſſured him, that himſelf, and the inhabitants of *Capua*, waited only his orders to deliver themſelves up to him.

Trivulca made too agreeable a compliment, not to be receiv'd with all the welcome poſſible. The king aſſured him, that neither he, nor the inhabitants of *Capua*

Capua should ever repent their having had recourse to his Clemency. *Italy* was surpris'd at this lord's conduct, who, till then, had passed for a generous Man, and been believed incapable of such a step; but he protested several Times afterwards, that he had acted in this particular with *Ferdinand*'s consent, in hopes of making some tolerable agreement for this prince with the king. Be that as it will, *Ferdinand*, who was coming back to *Capua*, hearing what had passed, returned to *Naples*, the inhabitants of which had immediately, upon his departure, sent to the king, in order to surrender themselves up to him. *A. D.* 1495.

Notwithstanding this, he went into the town again, and having called together the chief of the nobility and people, spoke to them in a very affecting manner, which drew tears from the eyes of several of the standers-by; but it had no other Effect. This prince being resolved to quit a party, which he could not keep, set fire to the ships which he had lying in the port, and went aboard his galleys, with *Jane* his daughter, the old queen, his grandfather's wife, and a few lords, who did not forsake him in his misfortunes, and sail'd to the isle of *Ischia*, thirty Miles from *Naples*, to wait there for some favourable opportunity of recovering his affairs. Guicciard. L. 1.

The king, by *Ferdinand*'s flight, was left master of almost all the kingdom, and made his entry into *Naples* on the twenty second of *February*, with the acclamations of the people. He was himself surprized at his success; and indeed he had reason to be so; for he had passed the *Alps* without money or magazines: Three of the most puissant states of *Italy* had enter'd into a league against him, and the rest continued quiet, for no other reason, but because they assured themselves of seeing so rash a project come to nothing. Had it not been for the little Opposition he met with in his passage, his army must have perished for want of forage and provision, purely by the rigour of the season. This surprising success, therefore, was by all *Europe* attributed to a particular providence of God, who designed thereby to punish the enormous crimes of the last kings of *Naples*; and upon this account, contrary to all expectation, prosper'd the most ill-concerted design in the world.

A. D. 1495.

In the mean time, the castles of *Naples* were to be attack'd, in which *Ferdinand* had left some troops to defend them. This was compass'd in the space of eight or ten days, and a great quantity of artillery, arms, and provisions were found in them. The rest of the kingdom soon followed the example of the capital, excepting *Brindes* and *Gallipoli*, situated in the country that is called *Terra de Otranto*, and *Mantia* and *Turpia*, towns of *Calabria*. If forces had been sent thither, these towns would not have been able to hold out; but that was neglected, and the neglect produced some important consequences.

The king passed one month at *Naples*, partly employed in giving orders for securing his conquests, partly in rejoicings, tournaments, and shews, and in receiving the submissions and oaths of the provinces and towns, and preparing, at the same time, for his return to *France*.

This was too hasty a dispatch: A conquest of this nature had need to be firmly secured. The presence of the conqueror, and new recruits from *France* would not have been over-doing it: On the contrary, his absence, and the departure of the troops that were to re-conduct him back, could not but be of dangerous consequence: But he had two reasons for this sudden resolution.

The first was his impatient desire of returning to *France*, which was inspir'd into him by many of those about him, and caused the *Italians* to pass several reflections upon the inconstancy of the *French* nation. The second and principal reason was, the league, concluded at *Venice*; the design of which was not only to drive the *French* out of the kingdom of *Naples*, but also to prevent the king's return, and to seize his person, in order to oblige him not to keep a foot of land in *Italy*. The project of this league had been formed from the time of the king's going to *Florence*, and *Ludovic*, duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, were the principal authors of it.

Guicciar. l. 1. Comin. l. 7. c. 15. Corio. Jovio. Bennet, &c.

Ludovic, who had sent for the *French* into *Italy*, only for the sake of maintaining himself in the dutchy of *Milan*, against the league of *Alphonsus* of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, the pope, and *Peter de Medicis*, no sooner saw himself confirm'd in this dutchy by the investiture

investiture of the emperor, and poisoning his nephew, than, notwithstanding his appearing forwardness in the king's service, he used his utmost endeavours to cause him to repass the *Alps*; but he hoped to bring it about without the king's penetrating his design. He foresaw so many obstacles in the vast tract of ground, which the *French* had to travel over; he saw the pope, the king of *Naples*, and *Medicis* take such good measures between them for putting a stop to his conquests, that he depended upon his returning speedily, and promised himself an opportunity of making his court with this prince, by opening his states to him, to facilitate his return. With this view he made all his efforts under hand, to prevent this triple alliance from being broken, tho' it had at first been formed against him. *A. D.* 1495.

The *Venetians*, who reasoned upon the same principles with the duke of *Milan*, far from shewing any dislike of the king's expedition, commended his design, and assured him of their zeal and devotion to his service: But when they saw every thing fall before him, they began to alter their language and expressions to *Philip de Comines*, who had some time since been sent ambassador to the republick.

The senate met every day, and the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Milan*, who, till then, had never seen one another, but in the night-time, and had treated together only by their secretaries, made frequently publick visits to each other. *Comines* was not ignorant of their designs; but, at length, when the news came of the surrender of the castles of *Naples*, the senate sent for him earlier than usual; and the doge declared to him, *in the name of the holy trinity*, that the republick had concluded a league with our holy father the pope, the emperor, the king of *Castile*, and the duke of *Milan*, and that these princes and the republick had proposed to themselves three views in this league. First, to defend christendom against the *Turk:* Secondly, to preserve the liberty of *Italy:* Thirdly, to prevent any attempt upon their states; and that the republick had sent dominick *Loredan*, and dominick *Trevisan*, who were their ambassadors with the king, an order to return to *Venice*.

A. D. 1495. *Comines*, notwithstanding his concern, set a good countenance upon the matter, and told them, That since they desired war, they should have it, and it should cost them *Italy*. He sent an account of all these particulars to the king, and gave the duke of *Orleans* also notice of what had passed, who was at *Ast* with some forces. This information was the more necessary, because he knew the confederates had a design to surprize *Ast*; and if they should have taken this place, it would have been impossible to have received any succours from *France*, whose passage would by that means have been intercepted, and the king's return rendered a great deal more difficult. This was the posture of affairs at the end of *Lent*, and the reason that obliged the king to hasten his departure from *Naples*, before the confederates were in a condition to oppose his passage.

The king's departure, at this time, was already half the victory to the confederates: However, if he had taken his measures rightly, they would have had a work of some time upon their hands; but, besides the neglect of making himself master of some towns in the kingdom of *Naples*, which had not submitted, he committed another error of equal importance.

It was a matter of the last consequence to leave some person in his absence at the head of affairs in *Naples*, capable of preserving the people in the fidelity they had sworn to him, and of sustaining the first efforts of the confederacy, to give time for succours to arrive; but this he took no care of.

Comines, l. 8. c. 1. He made choice indeed of *Gilbert* count of *Montpensier*, and prince of the blood, for his lieutenant-general in the kingdom of *Naples*, a man of approved valour, but incapable of a charge of this weight and moment, which required more prudence than valour, great application, and continual vigilance; qualities which this prince wanted, being naturally averse to labour and fatigue.

He left under him some persons of great repute and management, as *d'Aubigny* to command in *Calabria*, *George de Sulli* at *Tarentum*, *Robert de Lenoncourt* bailiff of *Vitri* at *Aquila*, *Gracian des Guerres* in the *Abruzzo*, *Don Julian Lorrain* in the town of *Angelo*, of

of which he made him duke, and *Alegre de Perſi* in the *Baſilicate*, and *de l'Eſpare* in *Otranto*. All theſe lords ſignaliz'd themſelves afterwards by their conduct and bravery; but the others were not equal to them. *Stephen de Veſc* was made governor of *Cajeta*, and had the charge of the finances, which was too much for a mean capacity like his. *Manfredonia*, an important place upon the Sea, was committed to *Gabriel de Montfaucon*: He was one of thoſe crafty courtiers, who, by making the beſt of his ſervices, knew how to gain an eſteem beyond his merits, which were by no means anſwerable to the opinion his Maſter had of him. *A. D.* 1495.

The king left ſome troops with the count of *Montpenſier*, and thoſe too ſmall a number to guard ſo great a country; but he had need of them himſelf for his return. He depended very much upon the inclinations of ſeveral *Italian* lords: But *Proſper* and *Fabricius Colonna*, whom he had loaded with benefactions, and who were able to do him the moſt effectual ſervice, betray'd him; and had even, before his departure, correſponded with the duke of *Milan*.

He ſet forward on the twentieth of *May*, three months after his entring into *Naples*. His army, reckoning the regular forces and all ſuch as were fit to engage, did not amount to above nine thouſand Men. He returned back the ſame way that he came, and marched five weeks without any hindrance. La Vigne. Journal du voyage de Charles VIII.

In paſſing thro' *Rome*, he found the pope was retired to *Perugia*: On the eleventh of *June* he arrived at *Sienna*, whither *Comines* was come by his order. This lord who was the beſt inſtructed in the poſture of affairs by all that he had ſeen and heard at *Venice*, adviſed the king to haſten his march, and to reach *Aſt* as ſoon as poſſible; for as much as the enemies, tho' they were not yet drawn together, would ſoon be ſo, and he had no time to loſe. Comines, l. 8. c. 2.

This was judicious advice; but it was not followed: The king loſt fifteen Days in ordering ſome affairs of much leſs conſequence than the ſafety of his perſon and army. *Lewis* of *Luxembourg*, count of *Ligni*, his favourite, was the perſon that led him into this miſtake, out of ſome private intereſted views, altogether contrary to the publick good: Beſides, he weakened his Ibid.

A. D. 1495. army by leaving some regiments in the towns of the republick of *Florence*, which he had made himself master of, and by a detachment which he sent to surprize *Genoa*, but without success.

However, he soon arriv'd at the long lane between *Pietra Santa* and *Pontermoli*; where very small number of men might have easily hindred his army from passing. The Inhabitants of *Pontermoli* opened their gates to him, but met with a very bad return for it; for the *Swiss*, belonging to the *French* army, remembring a quarrel that had happened between them in their former passage, in which some of their comerades had been killed, resolved to be revenged of them, and running thro' the streets like mad men with their drawn swords, destroy'd all that they met, and set several places on fire. The seditious could not be punished at that conjuncture; but, having acknowledged their crime, they some days after made such amends for it, as throughly merited the king's pardon.

Comines, l. 8. c. 9. In the mean time, the war appeared openly already in the *Milaneze* between the duke of *Milan* and the duke of *Orleans*, who had surprized *Novara*. For this enterprize he had made use of a succour sent by the duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, which, with some forces the duke of *Orleans* had there already, made a body of about seven thousand and five hundred men. It was neither the duke of *Bourbon*'s design, nor the king's intention, that this little army should have been employ'd in the *Milaneze*; but that it should have come to meet him, to facilitate his return. The duke of *Orleans* did not regard that, but retained the army under pretence that he was not in a condition to oppose the duke of *Milan* without it. To return to the king's march: After his departure from *Pontermoli*, he found himself extremely straitned for want of provisions, and hard put to it to pass the mountains, which began to be very high and steep in those parts.

La Vigne, Guicciardin. Comines, &c. That which yet more perplexed the king was, how to carry the artillery through ways that no carriage had ever passed. The affair appeared so impracticable, that several advised him to nail up, or burst his ordnance, and leave it behind him. And he had been oblig'd to have done so, had not the *Swiss* taken a very extraordinary resolution, which saved the army.

They

They knew that the king was very much enraged against them for the cruelties they had exercised at *Pontermoli*, and themselves also were ashamed and concerned for it. Upon this account they told the king, that if he would pardon their crime, they would endeavour to expiate it, by drawing the artillery themselves in such places as the horses cou'd not draw it. The king being as much delighted as surprized at the offer, answered, That he would not only pardon them upon this condition, but also that he should never forget the zeal they shewed for his service upon so necessary and pressing an occasion. *A. D.* 1495.

They performed their promise. Two hundred *Swiss* were yoaked two by two, and, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the season, they drew all the cannons up to the top of the mountains. There was no less difficulty in the descent; but they conquered that also.

During this toilsome march, the marshal *de Gié* had always gone before with the vanguard, to place himself at the head of the lanes upon the entrance of the plain. It consisted of only about fifteen or sixteen hundred men. He encamped near the village of *Fornoua* in *Parmesan*, and waited three days there for the rest of the army. The enemies assembled by little and little at half a league's distance; and if the king had not lost so much time at *Pisa* and *Sienna*, he would have passed before they had been in a condition to attack him: But when he arrived, they had near their whole number, excepting what had returned to the *Milaneze* to succour duke *Ludovic*. *Comines* writes, that their army consisted of thirty-five thousand men, and incamped at *Chiarvola*. Comines, l. 8. c. 5.

The king, with the rest of the forces, join'd the marshal on a *Sunday*, being the fifth of *July*. The marshal had thought proper, for his greater security, to draw near the mountains again; but as soon as they were join'd, the whole army came to encamp at *Fornoua*. Journal de Charles VIII.

Upon the marshal *de Gié*'s report of the great number of the enemies, and the situation of their camp, before which it was necessary for them to pass, there was no one person in the council of war, but agreed, that they could not have fallen into greater danger; and

A. D. 1495. and it was resolved to try what could be done by way of negotiation. *Comines* wrote to the two proveditors of the *Venetian* forces; but they answered, that it was too late now to talk of treating, when they were already fighting in the *Milaneze*.

Upon this answer, they prepared to march: The king, notwithstanding his concern, never appeared more chearful: He surveyed the whole camp, and the soldiers every where cried out, they were resolved to perish or conquer with him, and desir'd him to lead them immediately up to the enemy.

He had not above seven thousand men in his army, that were regular forces; but they armed all the servants, and every one that was capable of bearing arms, to the number of about two thousand.

The army was divided into three bodies; and, as it was thought that the vanguard would be the most pressed, the king rang'd all his best troops there, under the command of the marshal *de Gié*, and *de Trivulca*. The king placed himself in the *corps de bataille*, with the lord *de la Tremouille*, who commanded under him. There were several lords, and a great number of young gentlemen in this body. The count of *Foix* was at the head of the rear, and the baggage was placed on the left of the army, under the guard of captain *Odet*.

Hist. de Louis de la Tremouille.

In this order they began to march, the army having on the right a little river, or torrent, named the *Taro*. When they came over-against the enemy, they were but a quarter of a league distant from them, and had only a little river and a meadow between them. These latter were ranged in order of battle, in the form of an amphitheatre, reaching from the meadow to the two neighbouring hills. They had posted themselves in this place upon the road to *Parma*, to hinder the *French* army from gaining that town; where, as in most of the cities of *Italy*, there were several factions, and where the *French* interest greatly prevail'd.

Affairs being in this posture, *Comines* and the cardinal *Briçonnet* wrote to the proveditors, to propose a conference. The proposal was at first accepted; but when the enemy's trumpet went to the *French* army, to agree upon the place for holding the conference,

ference, the count *de Cajazze*, who commanded the *Milaneze* troops, and foreſaw, that if the *French* army ſhould paſs without being defeated, they would fall upon the duke of *Milan*, and join the duke of *Orleans*'s forces, gain'd over one of the proveditors, and *Francis de Gonſagues*, marquis of *Mantua*, the chief commander of the *Venetian* army, and carried it for a battle. [A. D. 1495.] Comines, loc. cit.

They were ſurprized to ſee the enemy fire their artillery; but the *French* anſwered them, and that ſo well, that they threw down the *Venetian* battery, and both ſides thought of nothing but beginning the battle. De la Vigne.

The marquis of *Mantua* undertook to attack the *French* rear, and the count of *Cajazze* their van: The marquis of *Mantua* was receiv'd couragiouſly by the gendarms of the *French* rear, and both ſides having broke their launces, came to ſmall arms. The fight was very bloody, and *Rodolphus de Gonſagues*, uncle of the marquis of *Mantua*, taking off his vizard, to give ſome order, was the ſame moment ſmitten on the face with a ſword by a *French* gendarm, diſmounted and cruſhed by the horſes that trampled upon his body. Guicciard. l. 2.

The king ſeeing his rear hard preſſed, and borne down by number, took ſome regiments out of the *corps de bataille*, where he himſelf was, and march'd up to their aſſiſtance, and enter'd ſo far into the fight, that he found himſelf in the foremoſt rank; where he was attack'd by ſome gendarms, and would have been taken, if it had not been for the goodneſs of his horſe, which no body elſe durſt come near, he was ſo furious. He was ſuccour'd very ſeaſonably; but had no ſooner ranged himſelf with the lords *de la Tremouille* and *de Frameſelles*, at the head of about a hundred and twenty launces, to whom were join'd a hundred archers of his guard, but he was charged by two regiments of lanciers, who aimed principally at his perſon: But he ſuſtain'd their effort, and broke them.

But after all, the party was ſo unequal, that he muſt have ſunk, if it had not been for one of thoſe chances, which make the greateſt dangers inſtruments of ſucceſs, eſpecially in the buſineſs of war.

The

A. D. 1495. The stradiots, who were a light horse of the *Albanois*, made use of by the *Venetians*, had passed the river to *Fornoua*, and, according to their orders, had fallen upon the baggage of the *French* army, where there was hardly any body to guard it, because they had need of all the troops for the fight. They took part of it, and those who had the care of this baggage, began to fly with the rest to the vanguard. The other stradiots, who were to support the gendarms of the marquis of *Mantua*, seeing their comerades bringing away mules and carts in great number, could not contain themselves; but, being eager to partake of the booty, disbanded in a moment, to run after the plunder.

The king made an advantage of this disorder. The archers of the guard, and a great number of young nobility, who were got together about him, fell furiously, by his orders, upon the *Italian* gendarmery, whom the struggling of the launces, as it usually happens in such cases, had forc'd out of their ranks. They prevented their joining again, made a great slaughter of them, and so terrified the infantry, that they began to fly.

Such was the condition of the *French* upon this occasion, that they were under a necessity of making a thorough conquest of it; nor would the defeat of the marquis of *Mantua* have saved them, if the count of *Cajazze* had succeeded in his attack of the vanguard: But the cowardice of his men left the marshal *de Gié* little other glory besides that of his prudence. The *Italian* gendarms, who came to him, resting the launce, no sooner perceived with what a fierce countenance the *French* advanced to meet them, but they immediately stood still, and then fled. The best judges of the affair greatly commended the marshal *de Gié* for not going far in pursuit of them, though he was sure of cutting them in pieces, because, being uncertain how things went in the rear, he thought proper to continue always in battle.

Brantome, dans l'eloge du marechal de Gié.

This important action lasted but one hour. A much greater number of the enemy perished in the flight than in the battle. Many were drowned in the river, which was very much enlarged by the continual rains. Their loss amounted to three thousand five hundred

hundred men; among whom were several persons of distinction. *Comines* reckons not above a hundred slain on the *French* side, and *Guicciardian* not two hundred. *Julian de Bourneuf*, captain of the guard *de la Porte*, was the only *French* man of distinction that was killed in this battle, where the confederates were six to one. *A. D.* 1495. Comines, l. 8. c. 6. Guicciard. l. 2.

Notwithstanding the glory accruing to the nation by this action, the king was not yet free from all apprehension; for he had a great way still to *Ast*. The army passed that night and the next day in the field of battle to rest themselves. That same day *Comines* had a conference with the *Venetian* generals, rather to amuse them than come to any conclusion, and the day following, before sun-rise, the *French* decamped without sound of trumpet. Their march was so private, and the enemy so ill served by their spies, that they did not hear of their decampment till noon.

In the mean time their army rallied, and as soon as they knew that the *French* were decamped, the count of *Cajazze* was detached with some cavalry to pursue them. He marched to *Placentia*, for fear the party that was in the *French* interest should seize upon it, and receive them there. The army continued their march through *Voghera* and *Tortona*; and at length the king arrived at *Ast*, without so much as one man falling into the enemy's hand. *Trivulca*, who had a great interest in the country they passed through, very much facilitated this retreat.

As soon as the confederates saw the king about *Tortona*, they forbore to pursue them, and turn'd to the right, to enter the *Milaneze*, and go join the duke of *Milan* before *Novara*, where he was besieging the duke of *Orleans*. Comines, l. 8. c. 7.

This prince was hard pressed, and the garrison reduced to the last extremity by famine and sickness. If the king had pursued his just resentment against the duke of *Orleans*'s conduct, he would have abandoned him to his bad fortune: For he had engaged himself upon his own bottom, without orders, or taking any precaution in such hazardous enterprizes, in hopes of making himself master of the dutchy of *Milan*, which, in truth, belong'd to him, though it

was

A. D. 1495. was not a time now to assert his right to it: He had retain'd the forces that were design'd to go and meet the king, to facilitate his return, which was attended with so much danger, and in which he had like to have perished: But he had a generous master to deal with; and besides, it would not have been much to the king's honour, to let a prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the crown, be lost.

But the difficulty was, how to rescue him out of the danger he was expos'd to. The allies had intrenched themselves before *Novara* in such a manner, that it seemed impossible to force them. They had a numerous army, and a well-disciplin'd force, and that of the king's was weak, and in a very bad condition. *Comines*, either by negotiating or craft, found means to perswade the heads of the league to discharge the duke of *Orleans* from his perplexity. The duke of *Milan*'s impatience to recover the possession of *Novara*, and to see the *French* without the *Milaneze*, was that which made this affair succeed. This treaty was, in most respects, for the king's great honour; but all the profit of it redounded to the duke of *Milan*. *Novara* was restored him, and the king promis'd, that if the duke of *Orleans* did not exactly observe all the articles agreed upon, he would lend him no assistance to support his pretensions to the dutchy of *Milan*. *Ludovic*, on the other hand, engaged himself in many particulars, very much to the king's advantage, with regard to the affairs of *Italy*. The king plainly foresaw he would break his word; but he was for putting an end to matters, and returning immediately to *France*.

Comines, Guicciard.

Recueil de Traités par Leonard, T. 1.

He parted from *Trin* on the fifteenth of *October*, and arrived at *Lyons* on the seventh of *November*; and looking upon himself as at the end of his journey, he ordered the journal, which *André de la Vigne*, the queen's secretary, had drawn up by his direction, and from whence I have taken most of the dates here described, to be brought him. The author, at presenting it, entertain'd him with several Stanza's he had made in praise of him. The valour and good fortune of this prince furnish'd him at first with fine matter for a panegyrick; but his army all tatter'd and impair'd, the surrendry of *Novara*, and the bad news

news he continually received from *Naples*, very much tarnished his glory; and we may say, that conquests so ill secured gave him but little right to the glorious title of a conqueror. He had already lost a great part of them in the manner I am going to relate by an account of what passed in the kingdom of *Naples* after his departure. *A. D.* 1495.

I have before observ'd, that *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, the king of *Naples*, being deprived of his kingdom, had retired to the isle of *Ischia*, which lay near the continent, without any other hopes, than what were built upon the league, formed in favour of him. As soon as he knew that the king had thoughts of returning to *France*, he went from *Ischia* to *Sicily*, whither *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, had sent vessels and soldiers, under pretence that the war raging in the kingdom of *Naples*, he was obliged to provide for the security of his kingdom of *Sicily*. The general of these *Spanish* forces was *Gonsalvo Fernand*, of *Corduba*, a great soldier, who had remarkably signalized himself against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and whom the *Spaniards* sirnamed the *Grand Captain*, as well to signify the absolute authority the king his master had given him over the troops, as his own extraordinary talent for war; and he is often mention'd in history by this glorious title. Guicciard. l. 2.

The king had hardly left the kingdom of *Naples*, when *Ferdinand* and *Gonsalvo* came to make a descent upon *Regio*, opposite to *Messina*. The town was open'd to them, and the castle obliged to surrender, after three days siege. Their army consisted of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, who were join'd by some troops of the canton they had reconquer'd. They made themselves masters also of *Seminara* and *S. Agatho*, other towns of *Calabria*.

Aubigny, who commanded for the king in *Calabria*, immediately took the field, attack'd *Gonsalvo* and *Ferdinand*, utterly defeated them, and retook all the towns except *Regio*, whither *Gonsalvo* had fled; and *Ferdinand* return'd to *Messina*.

This was a very inauspicious beginning for him: But he was not discourag'd, knowing that his old subjects began to want him; and to make amends for the ill effects of the misfortune that had happen'd

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A. D. 1495. to him, he appear'd some days after with a numerous fleet before *Salerna* and *Amalfi*. Immediately he saw his colours display'd upon the towers of those two cities, and all the coast, which gave him great satisfaction: But for want of a sufficient number of men, he durst not venture to make a descent. From thence he went to lay siege to *Naples*, to see if his presence would cause any rising there. It did so in some places; but the count of *Montpensier* having distributed his troops with great expedition in the most important posts, all was quiet.

Scarce had *Ferdinand* set sail to return to *Sicily*, when the chief of his party in *Naples* sent him privately a light bark, to intreat him to return the next day, and land as many soldiers as he could, to oblige part of the *French* soldiers to leave the town; and promised him, on their part, to do their duty.

Ferdinand did not fail to do as they desired; and the success answered his wishes. For the count of *Montpensier*, contenting himself with leaving the castles well fortify'd, and having very imprudently drawn out all the forces that he had in the city, to repulse those that *Ferdinand* had landed, the people on a sudden revolted at the sound of the alarm, and seized all the gates and entrances of the streets towards the castles, crying every where, *God bless* Ferdinand.

The count of *Montpensier*, surprized at so sudden a revolt, gave over all thoughts of hindering the descent; and, moreover, as the gates of the city were in the possession of the seditious, he was obliged to take a round to re-enter the castle *Novo*. *Ferdinand* being at liberty to land and march forward, pursued his fortune, came on shoar, and went to *Naples*, where he entred in a kind of triumph, with the acclamations of all the people. This happen'd *July* 7. the day after the battle of *Fornoua*.

Guicciard. l. 2.

The marquis of *Pescaire*, who had never forsaken his old master, gave orders to fortify the town against the castles, and did it to such purpose, that whenever the *French* endeavour'd to make a sally or attack, they were constantly repulsed with loss. Thus they found themselves besieged in the castles, where, to compleat their misfortune, they had but little provision, and much less forage.

Capua,

Capua, *Aversa*, the fortress of *Mondragon*, and some other places, followed the example of the capital, and declared openly for *Ferdinand*. Those of *Cajeta* revolted also: But the garrison having routed the populace, sack'd the town, and continued masters of it. *A. D.* 1495.

Some time after the *Venetian* fleet arriv'd, and attack'd *Monopolis*. The town was well defended; but was obliged to capitulate. The castle also surrender'd. *Polignano*, another place upon the sea, did the same. *Otranto*, *Brindes*, and some other places on that side, were already in *Ferdinand*'s Interest; and the lord *de l'Espare*, who commanded in those quarters with a very few soldiers, was hard put to it to keep his ground; but the count of *Montpensier* was yet more so at *Naples*.

He found himself so closely beset, both by sea and land, that he was obliged to capitulate, and promised to deliver up the castles, if he was not reinforced within thirty days. To add to his misfortune, *Aubigny*, who was most to be depended upon in this unhappy situation, fell ill. However he drew together some forces, and charged *Persi* to lead them to *Naples*, and do his best to succour the count of *Montpensier*. He defeated the count of *Matalone* at *Eboli*, who was come to engage him, with an army much superior to him in number; but when he was to open the passage to the castles of *Naples*, he found it impossible; because the enemy had made a circumvallation towards the fields, so well intrench'd, that he durst not attempt to force it, and was obliged to withdraw to *Nola*.

The count of *Montpensier*, seeing all his hopes frustrated by this retreat, embark'd 2500 men of the garrison in some vessels, and set sail with them to *Salerno*. The castle *Novo* held out twenty days more, and the castle *del Ovo* somewhat longer, and then both surrender'd. Comines. Guicciardino. Paul. Jov.

Comines was returned to *Venice*, where he only amused them with insincere and pretended proposals of treaty. He did not continue long there, but returned to *France* thro' the *Milaneze*, where he was very courteously receiv'd by *Ludovic*, and drew from him the most promising engagements, which he never Comines, l. 8. ch. 11.

A. D. 1495. observed, and came to rejoin the king, who had been all this while at *Lyons*; and about the same time this prince received the melancholy news of the death of *Charles Orland* his only son, at the age of three years. From that time he seem'd wholly to abandon the affair of *Naples*; which, however, did not hinder the count of *Montpensier*, *Aubigny*, *Persi*, and the other *French* officers, from maintaining their ground. They gain'd also several advantages upon divers occasions: But these advantages continually weaken'd them; instead of which *Ferdinand* constantly improved his strength, and had among his allies some resources that could not fail him.

Comines, l. 8. c. 13.

His re-establishment wou'd have been yet much more speedy and sure, if these same allies had not served him with a view to themselves. The *Venetians* especially, design'd to oblige him to leave them in possession of the towns, which they had taken in *Pouille*; and for this reason principally, they did not act with so much vigour as they might have done, to re-establish him on the throne.

In the mean time the count of *Montpensier* received a small recruit from *France*, and another from *Virgile des Ursins*, who declared for the *French* interest: But the count had as much need of money as soldiers, and they furnished him with nothing in that respect. *Ferdinand* wisely avoided coming to a battle, to which the *French* endeavour'd by all methods to engage him. He foresaw what would be the consequence, if he lost it; and he assured himself, that by forbearing it, the *French* troops wou'd daily diminish, and a little patience and delay would deliver him from them.

Pelcarius l. 7. Guicciard. l. 3.

The count of *Montpensier* thought it the best way, in this unhappy situation, to send *Stephen de Vese* to *France*, who had been one of the principal authors of the *Neapolitan* expedition; and a person in whom the king had always greatly confided. He readily accepted the commission, which removed him far from the danger, to which the rest were exposed; and embarquing at *Cajeta*, he arrived at *Lyons*, where the King still continued.

He made such lively remonstrances to him, represented with so much vehemence the various motives of honour and interest, the most proper to persuade him,

him, not to let so many brave men perish, who sacrificed themselves for him, and gave him such hopes of re-establishing his affairs in the Kingdom of *Naples*, provided he did not neglect them, as he hitherto had done; that he inspired him with fresh resolutions, and persuaded him to make a new effort. *A. D.* 1495.

Several princes and republicks of *Italy*, and among others, the *Florentines*, and the duke of *Ferrara*, made the same instances, and promised him men: The *Swiss*, excepting the canton of *Berne*, which had promised the duke of *Milan* not to serve against him, offer'd him as many soldiers as he desired, for hire. The *French* army was settled in the quarters appointed for them, after repassing the *Alps*; and what is very wonderful, the lords at court were as eager for the continuing the war, as most of them had been some months before against it.

The war then was resolved upon; and this resolution being made publick, every body applauded it. The king sent an order to the ports of *France*, to fit out thirty vessels, with twenty galleys, for *Marseilles*, which were to be preceded by some other vessels, to carry a reinforcement and money to the kingdom of *Naples*.

Trivulce was commanded to prepare to set out for *Asti*, with a body of four or five thousand men, who were to be followed by another more numerous army, under the command of the duke of *Orleans*.

The news of these preparations made a great noise in *Italy*, and gave the duke of *Milan* much uneasiness, who did not fail to inform the *Venetians* of all that passed at *Lyons*. The *Venetians* gave him their word not to forsake him; and promised not only to succour him with troops, but also to use their interest with the emperor, and the other princes concern'd to oppose the grandeur of *France*, in his favour. But the duke of *Milan* was soon delivered from his apprehensions, by the king's irresolution, and the inconstancy or prudence of the duke of *Orleans*, who seemed to be the person most concern'd to support this war: For it was to begin in the *Milaneze*, in order to put him in possession of that dutchy, as his patrimony and right.

A. D. 1495.

The duke of *Orleans*, who *by the advice of some person, shunn'd this enterprize*, as *Philip de Comines* expresses it, who usually delivers himself in this language, when he designs to describe the cardinal *Briçonnet* *, besought the king to propound the question to his council, whether it was proper to continue the war in *Italy*; and if so, whether it was fit, that he should have the command of the army.

* *Perhaps he means the Admiral de Graville.*

Two councils were held upon this occasion; in which it was unanimously concluded, that seeing matters were in so great a forwardness, and the states of *Italy*, with whom they had treated, were in a readiness for action, there was no room for debate; and the duke of *Orleans* having so great an interest in the dutchy of *Milan*, no body ought to be preferr'd before him in the command of the army.

This prince, seeing it so universally carried in the affirmative, answered, that if the question related only to himself, there need be no dispute about it; for this single motive wou'd never weigh with him to conclude for the war: But nevertheless, if the king would have him go to *Italy* merely as his lieutenant, he would obey his orders; expressing himself in such a manner as plainly shew'd his reluctance.

The duke of *Orleans*'s true reason for waving the command was the king's ill state of health, and the dauphin being dead, he was * presumptive heir of the crown; and upon supposition of the king's dying, it wou'd not have been proper for him to be out of the kingdom, engag'd in a war. This, without doubt, was not one of the reasons he alledged to the king: But at length he prevail'd with the king; who told him, that he did not desire him to go against his will. This was the answer he gave the ambassadors of *Florence*, and those of the other allies; and contented himself only with sending afterwards some succours to the *Florentines*, under the command of *Ambijoux*, who supplied *Leghorn* with provision.

* S. Gelais *in his Hist.* p. 98. *observes, that the title of the presumptive heir of the crown was at that Time* Monseigneur, *without any other addition. By the decease of* Monseigneur *the Dauphin, says he,* Monseigneur *of* Orleans *recovered his former title of* Monseigneur.

The duke of *Orleans*'s refusal was of it self sufficient to put an end to the design; because it was not thought capable of succeeding without a head of that importance, who was himself necessarily concern'd to manage it to advantage. The remonstrances of the cardinal *Briçonnet*, particularly with relation to

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the great expence of this war, and the difficulties suggested by the admiral *de Graville*, touching the funds necessary for the maintenance of the great naval preparations already begun, absolutely determined this prince, and the whole design was laid aside. *A. D.* 1495.

By this conduct the count of *Montpensier*, and all the *French* troops remaining in the kingdom of *Naples*, understood that they were abandon'd to their ill fortune. The soldiers receiving no pay, were with difficulty kept in their duty. A difference broke out among the heads, principally between the count of *Montpensier* and the lord *de Persi*; and it was pretended, that this misunderstanding deprived them of an opportunity of entirely defeating *Ferdinand*'s army. There was then more danger than ever in unseasonable divisions; and that upon the present occasion, was what could never be retrieved.

The confederate forces flock'd on all sides to *Ferdinand*, and spread themselves through the different provinces, to divide the attention of the *French* generals. General *Gonsalvo* seized several towns in *Calabria ulterior*. The count of *Montpensier* having a mind to go and join *Aubigny*, at *Venosa*, took *Atelle* in the *Basilicate* in his passage, which was the cause of his last misfortune. Guicciard. l. 3.

Ferdinand and *Gonsalvo* so block'd him up there, that it was impossible for him to escape. The *Lansquenets*, that he had with him, deserted to a man, and went to the enemy's camp. All provision, even to water, fail'd him; and he was forc'd to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his army to *Ferdinand*, which was still about five or six thousand strong. This happen'd just after the middle of *August*. Comines, l. 8. c. 14. A. D. 1496.

Ferdinand carried them to *Naples*; which was the most effectual way to imbitter the count of *Montpensier*'s disgrace, to be led, as it were, in triumph into a city, where he had some months before been vested with all the regal authority. Nor could any thing be more for *Ferdinand*'s glory, or more capable of conciliating the people's veneration to him: But it was not long that he enjoyed his prosperity; for being seized with a continual fever and a dysentery at *Soma*, upon the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, it carried him off in a few days.

A. D. 1496. His father *Alphonsus* died some months before in *Sicily*, at the monastery of *Mount Olivet*. *Dom Frederic*, *Alphonsus*'s brother, and uncle to *Ferdinand*, who left no issue, was recogniz'd king in his room; so that in less than two years, *Naples* had five kings; *viz.* the old *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, *Alphonsus* his son, *Ferdinand* his grandson, *Charles* king of *France*, and lastly *Frederic*.

Comines, l. 8. c. 14. & l. 7. c. 1.

To return to the count of *Montpensier*: One article of the capitulation was, that he should be furnished with shipping to transport himself and his troops, with their baggage, into *Provence*: But this upon condition of his procuring the surrendry of the *Calabrian* towns, and those in *Abruzzo*. *Aubigny* commanded in *Calabria*, and *Gratian des Guerres* in *Abruzzo*. These two lords refused to stand to this dishonourable treaty, which they had not sign'd. Upon this the count of *Montpensier* was retain'd at *Puzzoli*; where the unwholesomness of the air threw him into a fever, of which he died; for the report of his being poison'd, was without foundation. The great heats and bad food raised distempers also among his soldiers, of whom there did not return 1500 to *France*, nor 300 *Swiss* of 1300 that were there.

Idem, loc. cit.

Aubigni held out some months, and recovered *Consentia*, and some other towns that *Gonsalvo* had made himself master of. But hearing, that *Manfredonia* was delivered up by the cowardise of *Gabriel de Montfaucon*, the governor, that *Sulli* governor of *Tarentum*, was dead of the plague, and that a large ship from *Normandy*, designed to victual *Cajeta*, had perished in a storm, he made a treaty with the enemy, by which it was permitted him, and all the other *French* commanders, to return to *France* with their men.

After *Aubigny*'s retreat, the king intirely abandoned all thoughts of his design upon the kingdom of *Naples*, and contented himself with molesting the duke of *Milan* by the troops that he had at *Asti* under the command of *Trivulca*, a mortal enemy to this duke.

Such was the success of *Charles* VIII's enterprise upon the kingdom of *Naples*. An enterprize undertaken with much imprudence, continued with wonderful prosperity, which supplied all the precautions they had neglected to take, supported with much valour

valour, and little conduct, by him who continued charged with it; and at last abandon'd shamefully, and with the loss of a great number of brave men, by the prince's want of application, and perhaps, as some writers tell us, by the treachery of the very same minister *, that had been the first author of it, as well as by the admiral *de Graville*'s opposition; who, as he had never approved of the first expedition, so he continued stiffly to oppose the second, after the king's return. *A. D.* 1496. Belcarrius. * *The Cardinal* Briconnet. Comines, l. 8. c. 16. l. 7.

Before the *French* were absolutely driven out of the kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, not contented with having violated the treaties made with the king, by using all methods to cross this prince's designs, by entring into a league with *Italy*, and by sending *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* a supply of men and shipping, caused irruptions to be made into *Languedoc*, where the cavalry of *Castile* committed great ravage. But he had cause to repent it; for the lord *d' Albon* of *St. André*, who commanded in that country, having speedily drawn together some troops and militia of the country, not only obliged the *Castillans* to depart within four days, but also besieged and took *Salsus*, a town of *Roussillon*, well fortified by its situation. It was carried by assault the tenth of *October*, in which forty *Spanish* gentlemen, and 400 common soldiers perished.

This warmth and vigorous defence, made the king of *Spain* lay aside his desire of continuing the war with *France*. And a truce was struck up for two months, in which the emperor was comprehended; whose son *Philip* of *Austria*, lord of the *Low Countries*, had married *Jane*, daughter to the king of *Spain*; and that also contrary to one article of the treaty, by which the king had restored *Roussillon* to him. *Philip* and the king of *England* were moreover included in the treaty. A new truce was concluded for eight months; and there began to be a talk of another expedition into *Italy*. This report was not without foundation: For the court of *France* had indeed thoughts of it, when the unexpected death of the king put an end to all his new projects. A. D. 1497. Comines, l. 8. c. 18.

This prince being at *Amboise*, on *Saturday* the eve of *Palm-Sunday*, invited the queen to see a game at ten- A. D. 1498. Comines, loc. cit.

A. D. 1498. nis in the trenches of the castle. In going with her out of an old gallery that he was just upon pulling down, agreeably to his design of building a new castle, which design he had begun to execute, he gave his forehead a severe blow against the door. However, he went to the tennis, and continued there some time. In returning through the same gallery, about two of the clock in the afternoon, he fell backward, being taken on a sudden with an apoplexy. His health was already much impaired, by the fatigues of his *Italian* expedition; and it is very likely, that the blow which he gave his head forwarded the effect of the ill disposition, to which he was already reduced. His speech returned; but he relapsed thrice at the same time, and expired at eleven at night, nine hours after the first fit.

The extraordinary sentiments of piety, which immediately preceded the death of this prince, which came unexpected upon him, were great proofs of God's mercy to him. He had confessed thrice that week; and the last time that he conversed with some of his confidents, he told them, that he both resolved and hoped to live more regularly hereafter, than he had hitherto done.

Comines, l. 8. c. 18.

It is certain, that he had naturally good inclinations, though not always enough upon his guard against the passion of love, a foible too common with young princes. He was of a tractable and beneficent disposition: And it is a great character for a king, that *Comines* gives of him, *viz.* that he never spoke an abusive word. The wild education which his father gave him in the castle of *Amboise*, where he saw no body, and was kept in ignorance, had but little improved his mind, and had besides rendred him timorous and bashful; a defect which always appear'd, when he was obliged to speak in publick, or to strangers: But, knowing how injurious it had been to him to be thus brought up in ignorance, he was no sooner king than he endeavour'd to repair it; and notwithstanding the great troubles with which the beginning of his reign was agitated, he desired to have some notion of *Latin*, and took a pleasure in reading good books.

Gaguin. Comines. Belcarius.

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It would have been yet more commendable, if he had been able to surmount another defect, which possibly might arise from the same cause; I mean his averseness to application and affairs, which he left too much to his ministers, abandoning himself solely almost to diversion and pleasure. But after his return from *Naples*, he seemed to be alter'd in this respect. *A. D.* 1498.

He gave proofs of his courage and intrepidity, his thirst after glory, and his patience in hardships and fatigue; and that upon several occasions in his expedition to *Italy*.

He was of a small and disproportioned stature, having a large head upon a slender body; the features of his face disagreeable, excepting his eyes, which shew'd a good deal of life. He died on the seventh of *April*, *An.* 1498. at the age of twenty seven years, nine months, and eight days, after he had reigned fourteen years, seven months, and nine days. He left no child behind him, though he had three princes and one princess by *Anne* of *Brittany*.

This queen had a deep sense of her loss; and bewail'd it with many tears. She mourned for him in black; and thereby, as *Feron*, in his continuation of *Paulus Emilius*, tells us, alter'd the custom, according to which the widow queens used to cloath themselves in white; from whence, as some will have it, they had all the name of white queens.

He was succeeded by *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, whom the laws of the realm, by virtue of his birth-right, incontestably called to the crown.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *FRANCE.*

Lewis XII.

A. D. 1498.

LEWIS XII. born at *Blois* in *March*, * 1462. aſcended the throne at the beginning of the thirty ſeventh year of his age. He was the moſt accompliſh'd prince of his time, in whom nature had join'd together a great number of good qualities, which at the firſt were not without an alloy of ſeveral vices; but they wore off by degrees, as the warmth of his youth abating permitted him to hearken to reaſon and religion, of which he had always a very good foundation. The diſgrace that happen'd to him at the battle of *S. Aubin*, where he was taken in arms againſt his ſovereign, was the firſt ſtep to his converſion and a regular life, which he afterwards continued, eſpecially from the time of his coming to the throne, where his virtues being clear'd of moſt of his faults, appeared in all their luſtre.

* *Others ſay in* June.

Comines, l. 8. c. 20.

He began his reign in ſuch a manner, as preſaged the future lenity and happineſs of his government. Soon after his coronation he remitted a tenth of the taxes, and after that a third. He confirmed all the old officers in their poſts, without any regard to particular

ticular reasons for dissatisfaction with some persons, reducing into practice the noble speech he made with relation to *Lewis de la Tremouille*, who had defeated and taken him at the battle of *S. Aubin*, and against whom some wou'd have incens'd him, That it did not become the king of *France* to revenge the duke of *Orleans*'s quarrels. *A. D.* 1498.

At his coming to the crown he made many good regulations for the administration of justice, to suppress several disorders, for the re-establishment of military discipline, and took care to see them executed: And the kingdom knew, by happy experience, the difference that, commonly speaking, there is between a prince that comes to the crown at riper years, already exercis'd and experienc'd in affairs, and a young king, that is not only long a learning the art of government, but at last discovers it only by the mistake he has committed, or been made to commit, at the commencement of his reign.

He treated the queen dowager with all the honour and respect she cou'd desire, and permitted her to return to *Brittany*, re-enter into possession of her dutchy, and exercise all acts of sovereignty there, according to the clauses provided in the treaty of marriage between this princess and the late king *Charles* VIII. Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, l. 12. ch. 465.

After all, the king cou'd not part with so fine a principality without much reluctance. There was indeed a clause in the marriage-contract, *viz.* that in case of the king her husband's dying before her, and without issue, *Anne* of *Brittany* shou'd be obliged to marry his successor; but *Lewis* had been married for twenty years to *Jane* of *France*, daughter to *Lewis* XI. It was added, that in such case the queen shou'd marry the nearest heir to the crown; and this clause was inserted with regard to *Francis*, first prince of the blood, son to *Charles* count of *Angoulême*, if he had been of age; but he was not yet full four years old. Besides, that if the queen espoused any other prince than the king, *Brittany* wou'd still be dismembred from the crown, to the great inconvenience of the kingdom, which was the thing designed to be avoided by the marriage of the late king.

This reason put the king upon a remedy somewhat violent, but such as he pretended warrantable, *viz.*

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A. D. 1498. to void his marriage with *Jane* of *France*. *Lewis* XI. had forced him to the match, when he was but fifteen years of age. He was under a neceſſity of complying; for in caſe of a refuſal, he was threaten'd with nothing leſs than a priſon. He privately made a proteſt in form, and declared he wou'd never have any thing to do with her, though outwardly, to avoid the king's diſpleaſure, he treated her as a wife. He made ſome ſteps towards this affair at *Rome* in the reign of *Charles* VIII. who was not very well pleaſed with him for it, and he did not think it proper to puſh the matter any farther, becauſe of the authority which the dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, ſiſter to *Jane*, had then in the government. This princeſs was very ill-favoured, deformed, infirm, and in all appearance uncapable of having children. Theſe were the reaſons that hinder'd *Lewis* from giving his conſent to the marriage.

Beyſſel. S. Gelais.

Seyſſel Annal. de France.

As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf maſter, he ſent to the pope for commiſſaries to examine the matter according to law. *Lewis* of *Amboiſe*, biſhop of *Albi*, *Ferdinand* biſhop of *Ceuta*, and afterwards cardinal *Philip* of *Luxembourg*, biſhop of *Mans*, were appointed to take cognizance of the buſineſs. The proteſt made at the time of the marriage, and ſome other cauſes of nullity were proved: *Jane* her ſelf, who was at that time eminent for her ſanctity, made no oppoſition to the divorce; and at length the marriage was declared null by the holy ſee.

It was plainly ſeen that the king's deſign, in ſuing for the divorce, was to marry *Anne* of *Brittany*. He had formerly courted her, and been beloved by her. The ſituation of affairs, and the annulling the marriage with *Jane* by the pope's authority, made room for the revival of their former amours. However, *Anne* of *Brittany* did not ſubmit to it without ſome ſcruple: For the fate of this princeſs was altogether ſingular in this reſpect. She had not married *Charles* VIII. but by a kind of divorce from *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, whom ſhe had eſpouſed by proxy; nor *Lewis* XII. but by this prince's being divorced from her that had always paſſed for his Wife.

A. D. 1499. The articles of the treaty of marriage, which in ſome important points differed from that of *Charles* VIII. being ſigned by both parties at *Nants*, the marriage

riage was celebrated with great solemnity. And this grand affair being concluded, the king, who had already dispatched several other important matters, in the short time that had passed since the death of his predecessor, bent his thoughts now upon the principal of all; for the sake of which, he was desirous to finish all others, I mean, upon the conquest of the states of *Italy*, to which he had a right both as king of *France*, and as heir to the estates of the house of *Orleans*. These states, as I have already observed in the history of the preceeding reigns, were the kingdom of *Naples*, and the dutchy of *Milan*. *A. D.* 1499.

The *Italians* were in hopes, that the death of *Charles* VIII. and the embarassment of a new reign, wou'd free them, for some time at least, from the *French* arms: And indeed in all appearance the king wou'd not have been so much in haste to carry the war into *Italy*, had not he been determined to it by some favourable conjunctures. Guicciard. l. 4.

The *Venetians* were at great variance with the duke of *Milan*, upon account of the city of *Pisa*, and out of their jealousy of that duke's ambition, who endeavour'd only to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours. Nothing cou'd have been more for the king's advantage, than the misunderstanding between those two powers, the union of which had caused the loss of the kingdom of *Naples* in the former reign. But this was not the thing he most depended upon: Pope *Alexander* VI's vehement desire to raise his own family, and particularly his son, the cardinal *Cæsar Borgia*, was that which set all the wheels of this great affair a going.

This cardinal had long designed to quit the ecclesiastical state. The pope had given his consent to it, and was contriving how to make up the loss of his dignity of cardinal to him. He wou'd not have pitch'd upon *France* for this means, if he cou'd have done it elsewhere: But not being able to succeed with *Frederick* king of *Naples*, who mistrusted the ambition both of father and son, he treated with the king of *France*.

This prince, by the treaty, gave *Cæsar Borgia* the dutchy of *Valentinois*, 20000 *livres* pension, a company of a hundred lances, and promised to procure Ibid. Bellcarius, l. 8.

him

A. D. 1499. Annals de France.

him *Charlotta de Foix*, daughter of *Alan d' Albret*, sister of queen *Jane* of *Navarre*, for a wife, and to put the pope again in possession of some towns of *Romagna:* But this last condition was not to be perform'd by the king, until the pope had effectually assisted him in the conquest of the dutchy of *Milan*.

All this being resolv'd upon at the time of the king's soliciting the pope for a dissolution of his marriage, *Cæsar Borgia*, whom for the future I shall call the duke *de Valentinois*, came to *France*, and appear'd at court with a most magnificent equipage. He was himself the bearer of the pope's bull for the divorce, and of the cardinal's cap for *George* of *Amboise* archbishop of *Roan*, who having always adher'd firmly to the king while he was duke of *Orleans*, and shar'd in his misfortunes, was in great esteem at court. The king receiv'd the duke *de Valentinois* with all the honours and marks of kindness that he could expect from him, and gave neither him nor the pope reason to repent their having sought his friendship.

At the same time that the king was treating with the pope, he negotiated also secretly with the *Venetians:* But little depending upon their suspicion of the duke of *Milan*, he endeavoured to persuade them, for their own interest, to unite with *France* against that duke. For this purpose, he offer'd to resign up to them the city of *Cremona*, and all its dependances between the *Ollius*, the *Adua*, and the *Padus*. This offer tempted them: But they were long deliberating upon it. At last they accepted it; and the treaty having been concluded at *Estampes*, was sign'd at *Blois*, *April* 15.

Du Tillet, Recueil de Traites, &c. Recueil de Traites par Leonard, T. 1. Memoires de Bethune, vol. cotte, 9691. Guicheron, hist. de la maison de Savoye.

During this negotiation, the king had enter'd upon some others, to prevent diversions. He confirmed the treaties of his predecessor with *Henry* VII. king of *England*, reconciled himself with the king of *Spain*, and made an end of the differences he had with *Philip* archduke of *Austria*, and lord of the *Low Countries*. He dispensed with this prince's coming to *France*, to do him homage for the earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and sent his chancellor *Guy de Rochefort* to receive the homages at *Arras* in the episcopal palace.

The

The king treated, in like manner, with the duke of *Savoye*, for a paſſage through his ſtates. He made a new offenſive and defenſive league with the *Swiſs* cantons, which declared expreſly, that they had no alliance with *Ludovicus Maria Sfortius*, then in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Milan*, and gave the king the title of duke of *Milan*. *A. D.* 1499.

All theſe negotiations, the raiſing forces, and other preparations in *France*, gave the duke of *Milan* a great deal of uneaſineſs. He ſought every where for ſupport and protection; but in vain. The emperor had made a truce with *France*, out of regard to his ſon *Philip* of *Auſtria*. He was taken up with a troubleſome war againſt the *Swiſs*, and was not ignorant of the new engagements they had enter'd into with the king; and in vain did he endeavour a reconciliation with the *Venetians*. Guicciard. l. 1.

Frederic king of *Naples* did not want will, but money; and was beſides ſenſible of much diſcontent amongſt his ſubjects. Their intereſts were always common: For the king plainly foreſaw, that the conqueſt of the *Milaneze* was only an introduction to that of the kingdom of *Naples*. All that either the one or the other could do, was to haſten *Bajazet* to declare war againſt the republick of *Venice*; which was accordingly done.

The duke of *Milan*'s danger increas'd daily. The *Venetians* drew together a large army in *Breſſan*, upon the frontiers of the *Milaneze*; that of *France* encreas'd in *Aſteſan*; and the king having left the queen at *Remorentin*, was come to *Lyons*, where he drew up his army. The duke's buſineſs was to furniſh his garriſons, and delay the war, in hopes of ſome happy conjuncture, to better the poſture and ſituation of his affairs. S. Gelais.

He had actually on foot 2000 men of arms, 2000 light horſe, 14000 foot, and a good artillery. He divided his forces into two bodies; giving one of them to the count of *Cajazza*, who march'd to *Breſſan*, to put a ſtop to the attempts of the *Venetians*; and the other, which was much more numerous, to *Galeazze* of *S. Severin*, to make head againſt the *French*. He took upon himſelf the defence of *Milan*. Corio.

The *French* army paſſed the *Alps* in the end of *July* and the beginning of *Auguſt*, under the command

A. D. 1499. mand of *Lewis* of *Luxembourg* count of *Ligni*, *Robert Stuart* lord of *Aubigny*, who had already acquir'd a great reputation in *Italy* during the *Neapolitan* expedition, and *John-James Trivulca*. The king was ready to join them with some other regiments, and spread abroad a report that he was going in person to *Italy*, though that was not then his design.

If the duke of *Milan* had been well served by his generals and the governors of his towns, he had given so good orders, and taken such proper measures, that, notwithstanding the great superiority of the forces, the *French* and *Venetians* would have been hard put to it to penetrate far into the country, and their campaign would have ended with the taking of some places upon the frontiers: But the cowardice of some of the commanders, and the treachery of others, hastened his ruin.

Several fortresses capable of resisting the enemy, surrender'd immediately, without making any opposition. *Valentia* was deliver'd up to *Trivulca* by the governor; *Tortona* open'd its gates at the first summons; *Alexandria*, the strongest town in the whole dutchy except *Milan*, hardly held out at all: The count of *Cajazze*, who commanded one body of the army, was in league with the *French*, and caused this place to be lost, which it was in his power to have
S Gelais. prevented. This loss spread a consternation throughout the *Milaneze*.

The *French* generals advanc'd to *Mortara*, whither the inhabitants of *Pavia* came to capitulate with them, and surrender'd. Most of the other towns revolted, and receiv'd the *French* army, without excepting even *Milan* it self. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, advancing to the *Cremonois*, made themselves masters of several places about the *Adua*.

Duke *Ludovic*, seeing his condition desperate, sent
Inspruck. away his sons and treasure with the cardinal *Ascanio* his brother; and followed them *September* 2. in order to escape to *Inspruck*. He committed the custody of of the castle of *Milan* to *Bernardino de Corté*, which he left well provided of all things necessary for its defence, and promis'd him to return speedily, and succour him with an army the emperor was to furnish him with.

As

As soon as his retreat was known, most of the remaining towns in the *Milaneze* surrender'd. The inhabitants of *Cremona* also call'd in the *French*; but because of the treaty made with the *Venetians*, it was not thought proper to accept their offer, and they treated afterwards with the seignory. *Genoa* some days after sent their deputies also, and submitted to the king. This great conquest took up but twenty days; and *Bernardin de Corté*, without so much as a discharge of the cannon, deliver'd up the castle of *Milan*. *A. D.* 1499.

Notwithstanding all the care and provision, that the king had made for the success of his enterprize, he could never have hoped for so sudden a victory. His joy was equal to his surprize: And as soon as he heard of the surrendry of the castle of *Milan*, he set forward to go and take possession of so glorious a conquest in person. He made his entry into *Milan*, *October* 16. in the ducal habit, and by his goodness, liberality, and popular behaviour, charmed the inhabitants of *Milan*, who besides hated *Ludovic*, both upon account of his usurpation, and for the severity of his government. Annales de France. Belcarius. S. Gelais.

The king was no sooner arrived at *Milan*, than the *Italian* princes came from all quarters to congratulate him upon his victory; some with a design to remove all suspicion of their attachment to the house of *Sfortius*, and others to sue for his Protection. There was scarce any but *Frederic* king of *Naples*, that forbore to make his court to him. He received them all courteously; but at the same time making a distinction between those whom he believed sincerely devoted to his interests, and those whose inclinations he was not so well satisfy'd in.

As he was designing the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, he treated with both of them in this view, and particularly with the *Florentines*, whose alliance might be of great service to him in this expedition. He agreed with them upon several conditions to the advantage of both parties, and the treaty was sign'd. Belcarius, l. 8. Guicciard. l. 4.

The pope was not the last person in congratulating him upon his victory; and at the same time put him in mind of his promise, to subject to the holy see the antient domains that had been detach'd from it, and

A. D. 1499. to put the duke *de Valentinois* in possession of them: *viz.* the towns of *Faenza*, *Forli*, *Imola*, *Rimini*, *Cesena*, and some others, besides *Ravenna:* But this last was out of the question, because the *Venetians* were masters of it, and there was no way to recover it at the present juncture, in which that republick was in alliance with *France*.

Jean d' Auton, hist. de Louis XII.

The king, in pursuance of the treaty, gave the duke *de Valentinois* 300 launces under the command of *Yves d' Alegre*, and 4000 *Swiss* under that of *Anthony de Bessey* bailiff of *Dijon:* These forces were to be paid by the pope. The duke *de Valentinois* being put at the head of them, took *Imola* by composition about the end of this year, and *Forli* by storm at the beginning of the next; and had gain'd the rest, if the affairs of *Italy* had continu'd in the same situation they were then in.

Hist. du Chevalier Bayard, c. 12. Annales de France.

The king, at his departure from *Milan* in order to return for *France*, gave the government of that city and state to *Trivulca*, that of the castle to baron *d' Espi*, the command of *Genoa* to the lord *de Raveslein*, and the other towns belonging to these two states he committed to several officers of known valour and fidelity.

It was matter of surprize, that he trusted *Trivulca* with the government of the *Milaneze*; not that his fidelity, or courage, or attachment to *France* was at all question'd: But he was of a fierce, haughty, and violent spirit; qualities very improper for cementing a new authority. Besides, he adher'd resolutely to the *Guelphes*, and was a declared enemy to the *Gibelines*; for these two factions were not yet extinct in *Italy*; and upon several occasions he could not forbear shewing his aversion to the one, and his inclination for the other. This was in truth the cause of all the troubles that ensued. The party of the *Gibelines* was the most numerous, and least regarded at *Milan*, upon which they intrigued under hand against the governor; and one day the butchers, making some difficulty to pay a tax the king had not impos'd, but permitted, there arose a mutiny against the taxgatherers. *Trivulca* immediately ran to the quarter, where the bustle was; and instead of making his men seize the guilty, he killed some of the mutineers with

with his own hand. This action drew upon him the odium of the People, and served to forward the execution of a design, which the *Gibelines* had already formed, to revolt. *A. D.* 1499.

Upon the news of this revolt, he desired the *Venetian* commanders to march some forces along the banks of the *Addua*, and sent orders to *Yves d'Alegre* in *Romagna* to return in all haste with the *French* and *Swiss* that he commanded there, under the authority of the duke of *Valentinois*, whose conquests had a stop put to them by this accident: But *Ludovic*'s expedition, and that of the cardinal *Ascanio* his brother, made these precautions unserviceable. Guicciard. l. 4.

They had got together in a very short time, by force of money, 8000 *Swiss* and 500 men of arms belonging to the earldom of *Burgundy*. With a part of these forces they were advanced as far as the lake of *Coma*, to surprize the town that gives name to it, which had no garrison: But the count of *Ligni*, upon the news of *Ludovic*'s approach, repair'd thither with some gendarmes, repulsed him, killed a great number of his men, and resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Jean d'Auton, hist. de Louis XII.

This resolution had saved the *Milaneze*, if *Ludovic* had not had a correspondence in *Milan* it self, where the *Gibelines*, as soon as they heard he was in the neighbourhood of *Coma*, suddenly took up arms, and were seconded by most of the townsmen. *Trivulca* was besieged on *Candlemas-Day* in the town-house, where he defended himself for a long time; and notwithstanding the small number he had with him, he issued out with his battle-axe in his hand, and having totally routed this body of the citizens, he gain'd the castle.

From thence he sent an order to the count of *Ligni* to abandon *Coma* and come and join him. He refused to obey the first and second order, looking upon it as a matter of the greatest importance for the king, to put a stop to *Ludovic*'s designs upon this place: But receiving a third order, by which *Trivulca* threaten'd him with the king's resentment if he did not obey, he left *Coma*, and *Ludovic* immediately took possession of it.

A. D. 1499. Guicciard. l. 4. D'Auron, hist. de Louis XII.

The count of *Ligni* being arriv'd at the castle of *Milan*, a council was call'd, in which it was concluded, that the castle being in a condition of holding out for a long time, the generals shou'd not confine themselves there, but immediately depart to provide for the security of the other towns. *Trivulca* put 400 men into *Novara*, and carried some others in person to *Mortara*. The cardinal *Ascanio* came immediately to *Milan*, where *Ludovic* arrived the next day, and was received with as much joy, as had been expressed upon his leaving it five or six months before.

As soon as it was known at *Pavia* and *Parma* that he was at *Milan*, these two towns set up their standards upon the walls. *Lodi* and *Placentia* wou'd have done the same, if the *Venetian* forces had not enter'd them. The towns more remote from *Milan* towards *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, how eager soever they might be to follow these bad examples, durst not declare themselves. In the mean time *d'Alegre* arrived, and having surprized *Tortona*, which had declared for *Ludovic*, he sack'd it: But the *Swiss* that he had with him, either for want of pay, or bribed by *Ludovic*, having all deserted to go over to his side, *d'Alegre* was no more in a condition to make any attempt, and shut himself up in *Alexandria* to defend it. *Lewis d'Ars*, lieutenant of the count of *Ligni*'s company of gendarmes, supplied the castle of *Belinzoné*, upon the frontiers of the *Swiss*, with provision; for the city had révolted at the approach of *Ludovic:* After which he returned through a thousand dangers to join *Trivulca* and the count of *Ligni*, who had withdrawn thither.

Ludovic sent the emperor and several states of *Italy* an account of the happy success of his enterprize, and desired succours of them: But there were only some little Princes that were in haste to comply with him. He did not cease to forward his point, and having left some forces with the cardinal his brother, to block up the castle of *Milan*, he went to lay siege before *Novara*. This town, after a vigorous defence for some days, was obliged to capitulate, after which he besieged the castle.

In

In the mean time the king having received at *Loches* the news of this ſudden revolution, loſt no time; and his orders for marching a force into *Italy* were ſo expeditiouſly executed, that in the beginning of *April* 10000 *Swiſs*, levied by the bailiff of *Dijon*, 6000 *French* infantry, and 1500 men of arms, with all their equipage, were drawn together under *Mortara*. *Lewis de la Tremouille* was named general of this army, and the cardinal *George* of *Amboiſe* came himſelf to *Verceil* to ſee more perfectly how affairs ſtood. *A. D.* 1499. Guicciard. l. 4. D'Auton, hiſt. de Louis XII.

La Tremouille march'd immediately to *Novara*, under pretence of raiſing the ſiege of the caſtle, but in reality upon a more important deſign, *viz.* to ſeize *Ludovic* by means of the *Swiſs* that he had in his army, whoſe officers the bailiff of *Dijon* had gain'd over. By their advice alſo, a part of the *French* cavalry ſpread themſelves along the banks of the *Teſin*, to hinder 8000 *Italian* foot, and 400 horſe from joining *Ludovic*, who having ſome ſuſpicion of a correſpondence between his *Swiſs* and the *French*, ſent for his troops from *Milan*, that were beſieging the caſtle there. Hiſt. de Chevalier Bayard, c. 16.

As ſoon as the *French* army came near *Novara*, the *Swiſs*, of whom the garriſon of that place moſtly conſiſted, mutinied under pretence of not having their pay. *Ludovic* did all that he cou'd to appeaſe them, and promiſed to pay them out of the money he was to receive from *Milan*. This promiſe ſeemed to quiet them, but when he propoſed to march againſt the *French* and give battle to them, they refuſed. And the chief of their officers told him, that there being a great number of their nation in the *French* army, they cou'd not fight againſt them without the expreſs conſent of the cantons; and that to avoid all opportunities of embruing their hands in the blood of their country-men, relations and brethren, they were reſolved to return back to their own country. Guicciard. l. 4.

This reſolution convinc'd him plainly that he was betray'd. He made uſe of promiſes, intreaties, and tears to diſſuade them, but to no purpoſe. At laſt he only begg'd them by way of favour, not to abandon him to the fury of his enemies, and to conduct him into a place of ſecurity, from whence he might

A. D. 1499. dismiss them, if they persisted in their design of quitting his service.

They refused him this also, and told him that he had no other way but to blend himself with them, and by that means to make his escape, if he cou'd. This was the only expedient that remain'd for him. So the *Swiss* having got leave of *Lewis de la Tremouille* to return home, began to file off in sight of the *French* army.

There is no room to doubt, but the *Swiss* had given advice of all these particulars to the *French* generals, who carefully examining their faces, discovered *Ludovic* armed and dressed like a *Swiss*, and seized both him and his principal officers.

S. Gelais, D'Auton, &c. *Ludovic* was immediately carried into *France*, and imprison'd in the castle of *Loches*, where he died about the year 1510. The taking of him gave rise to this proverb in *France*; *Il a eté pris comme le Maure*; *He was taken as the Moore*; a nickname, that was given him upon account of the blackness of his complexion. This misfortune happen'd to *Ludovic* on *Friday* before *Palm-Sunday*, *April* 10. 1500.

An. 1500. Such was the fate of this duke, who deserved no better, after he had usurped the dutchy of *Milan* from his nephew, poison'd him, committed so many treacheries against *France*, put *Italy* in combustion, bubbled his neighbours, allies, and enemies upon a thousand occasions; and exercised moreover, soon after, a thousand cruelties against the *French*, who went this year from *France*, to the grand Jubilee at *Rome*.

Appendix ad Gaguinum.

The taking of *Ludovic*, was the decisive stroke for the *Milaneze* war. His brother, the cardinal *Ascanio*, fled, and was taken at *Rivolta* in the *Plaisantine* by the *Venetians*, whom the king obliged to deliver him up to him. This prince, some time after, set him at liberty, in regard to his dignity of cardinal. *Ludovic*'s two sons fled to the emperor's court. All the *Milaneze* submitted, and *Charles* of *Amboise*, high steward of *France*, and brother to the cardinal, was made governor of it.

The dispatch of this conquest, which ended the war in the month of *April*; an enemy so dangerous as *Ludovic*, incapacitated for doing any more mischief; the pope attach'd to *France* by the interests of

of the duke *de Valentinois* were very favourable circumſtances to the king, for making the conqueſt of the kingdom of *Naples* ſucceed that of the dutchy of *Milan*. He wanted no inclination to make uſe of them: But the troubles which the emperor raiſed in *Germany* upon this occaſion, prevented his engaging in ſuch an enterprize, till he had taken other meaſures. *A. D.* 1500.

The emperor omitted nothing to engage all the princes of the empire in a league againſt *France*: He inceſſantly exaggerated the ambition of the king, the injury he had done the empire in ſeizing upon the dutchy of *Milan*, which was a fief of it, and in keeping him in cuſtody who had been inveſted with it. But during that time, a negotiation was enter'd upon, which in the concluſion entirely ſurprized all the world; and which, 'till the treaty was executed, was look'd upon as a chimera. This treaty was made between the king of *France*, and *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*. They laid it down as a principle, that *Frederic*, *de facto* king of *Naples*, who was deſcended only by a baſtard from the houſe of *Arragon*, had no right to this kingdom; and that they two were the only perſons that cou'd pretend a lawful claim to it. Upon this bottom they agreed to divide it between them, and each of them to take poſſeſſion of his ſhare. The king of *Spain* was to have *Pouille* and *Calabria*, as lying moſt convenient for him in the neighbourhood of the Iſle of *Sicily*, which belong'd to him. The king of *France* was to have the reſt of the kingdom with the capital, and the title of king of *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*. They enter'd into a defenſive league for their ſtates of *Italy*, againſt all ſuch as ſhou'd attempt to attack them there. This treaty was confirm'd by the king of *Spain* at *Granada* on the eleventh of *November*, *An.* 1500. Guicciard. l. 5. Recueil de Traités par Leonard. T. 1.

There was nothing in this treaty to reflect an odium upon *France*, by reaſon of the hoſtilities which continued between the ſubjects of the king of *Naples*, and thoſe of the king of *France*. But the caſe was different with *Spain*, which had always ſupported *Frederic* and his Predeceſſors, who were a branch of the houſe of *Arragon*: So that there was need of ſome apparent motives for this change; that of religion and

A. D. 1500. the defence of the church, was then, and has ever since, been advantageously applied by the kings of *Spain*. He entered into manifestoes, which he published upon this occasion; and one of the causes alMariana. l. 27. c. 7. ledged in the declaration of war upon *Frederic* king of *Naples*, was, that he had made a league with the *Turks* against the christians, that is, against the *French* and *Venetians*, when two years before they attack'd the duke of *Milan*.

The treaty between the two kings remain'd a secret, till the time that they enter'd upon action. The pope came into it, in hopes of augmenting the power and riches of the duke *de Valentinois*; and promised to grant the king of *France* the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the king of *Spain*, that of the dutchies of *Pouille* and *Calabria*.

The king had one obstacle yet to remove, which related to the king of the *Romans*. It was necessary to keep him from opposing his design, which he effected first by money, which this prince had always great occasion for; and secondly, by the marriage which was concluded between *Claude* of *France*, the king's daughter, and *Charles* duke of *Luxembourg*, Guicciard. l. 5. afterwards the emperor *Charles* V. The prince and princess were then very young. The emperor swallow'd the bait; for which he can only be excused by the apprehensions he was under, lest the king shou'd fall upon his son the arch-duke *Philip* in the *Low-Countries*.

Mariana. l. 27. c. 7. While matters were carrying on between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, *Gonsalvo de Corduba*, called the grand *Captain*, set sail from *Malaga* with a large fleet, and a great number of forces, landed at *Sicily*, and went from thence with the *Venetian* fleet to take the Isle of *Cephalonia*. He returned afterwards to go ashore at *Syracuse*, and wait there for new orders from the king his master.

His arrival gave the king of *Naples* more joy than disquiet, who depended very much upon succours from *Spain*, in case the king of *France* shou'd come to attack him in his kingdom. He endeavour'd also to divert the tempest by the offers he made this prince, whose preparations were not unknown to him, and

who

who amuſed him without breaking the negotiation: But matters did not continue long in ſuſpenſe. *A. D.* 1500.

A fleet ſet ſail from *Provence*, under the command of the lord *de Raveſtein*, governor of *Genoa*, and the land army, which was aſſembled in the *Milaneze*, march'd towards the kingdom of *Naples*, and was to be join'd by the forces of the duke *de Valentinois*, who had ſome time before made himſelf maſter of *Faenza*. The army of *France* was commanded by *Aubigny*, and the count of *Cajazze*, who had arrived at this honour by the late treachery he had ſhewn to *Ludovic*. S. Gelais, Hiſt. de Louis XII.

As ſoon as the *French* army came within ſight of *Rome*, the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Spain* obtain'd an audience of the pope in preſence of all the ſacred college, and notify'd to him the treaty made between the two kings, of which the pope had been already well informed; and one of them demanded the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, for the king of *France*, his maſter, and the other that of *Pouille* and *Calabria*, for the king of *Spain*. Their requeſt was immediately granted, and the whole ſecret diſcovered.

Never did any event cauſe more ſurpriſe than this, or afford more ample matter for reflection to the politicians of *Italy*. Every body blamed the king of *France*'s imprudence, in admitting the king of *Spain* within the kingdom of *Naples*, where the latter would keep poſſeſſion with much more eaſe than the other could do, by means of the kingdom of *Sicily*; and from whence he would ſooner or later drive the *French*. As for the king of *Spain*, they did not accuſe him of imprudence, but treachery, of making uſe of the confidence, which a prince of his family had put in him, to deprive him of his ſtates, and of throwing him headlong down a precipice, by pretending to ſave him from it.

The king of *Naples* ſurprized, and at the ſame time overwhelm'd by two formidable powers, which it was abſolutely impoſſible for him to reſiſt, had no other way to take, but to put the ſmall number of forces, that he had, into his towns, and to diſpute the ground with them, as long as he was able. *Aubigny* was received into *Naples*. *Capua* and *Cajeta* held

out

A. D. 1500. our for some time, and then surrendred. *Frederic* who had repaired to the *Castle-Novo* of *Naples*, seeing himself besieged by *Aubigny*, without any hopes of succour, was obliged to capitulate. He was permitted to withdraw to the isle of *Ischia*. This prince some time after, having sent to the king of *France* for a pass, in order to come to him, obtained it without any difficulty. He made over to him all his right to the kingdom of *Naples*; and had the dutchy of *Anjou* in exchange, with 30000 ducats *per annum*, which he enjoyed to his death. The orders, which he sent the marquis of *Guast*, to deliver up the isle of *Ischia* into the hands of the *French*, were not executed, and this marquis always kept possession of it.

Businacoro. A. D. 1501. Guicciard. l. 5.

Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

While *Aubigny* was so successfully employ'd in executing the orders of the king his master, *Gonsalvo* acted with no less application and good fortune, for the interests of his prince. He went to *Calabria*, where they submitted almost every where immediately. He met with no opposition, excepting at *Manfredonia* and *Tarentum*: But it was not long before the governors capitulated; and one of the conditions, for the performance of which they required a particular oath of *Gonsalvo*, was, that he should give the young duke of *Calabria*, son of *Frederic* the dethroned king of *Naples*, liberty to withdraw wheresoever he thought proper; which by a private order from his Father, was to be into *France*. But *Gonsalvo*, notwithstanding his oath, sent him into *Spain*, where, by kind and benevolent usage, they endeavoured to mitigate the severity of his bad fortune. Such was the fall of this unhappy branch of the house of *Arragon*.

Guicciard. l. 5. D'Auton, Hist. de Louis XII.

On the other hand, the pope, and the duke *de Valentinois* were not idle. This duke made himself master of *Piombino* and *Apiano*, and the pope seized all the towns and territories of the *Colonnes* and *Savelli*, about *Rome*. These two families had long been enemies to that of the pope.

In the mean time the union, which seem'd to continue between the king of *France* and the *Venetians*, began to abate. This prince knew that the conquest of *Naples* was very disagreeable to them, and was perswaded, that they had earnestly sollicited the king of

of the *Romans* to break the truce he had made with him. *A. D.* 1501.

The success of his arms in *Italy* made him look upon the *Venetian* alliance with indifference, and the rupture that might happen between them, as a matter of advantage: For seeing himself well settled, as indeed he was, in the possession of the dutchy of *Milan*, he concluded he was in a condition of recovering what had been dismember'd from that dutchy, by the war. The *Cremonois*, which he had given up to the *Venetians* upon the league he made with them against *Ludovic*, was not the only instance of this kind, but also *Bresse*, *Bergamo*, and *Crescence*, which they had formerly taken in the wars with *Philip Maria Visconti*. They lay all very convenient for him; upon which, though he was far from apprehending a breach with the republick, he was very much disposed to a rupture, provided he was able to perswade the king of the *Romans* to be his friend: But this affair was not so easily effected. Guicciard. l. 5.

However, he brought about his design by bribery, and two other expedients: The first was, the renewal of the treaty already made for the marriage of his daughter *Claude* with *Charles* the king of the *Romans* grandson; and the second, a promise, which he made of assisting him with all his force in the recovery of several towns, which the *Venetians* had formerly taken from the house of *Austria*. He proposed to him an offensive league against the republick. The king of the *Romans* did not seem averse to this project, and indeed it was an affair of great consequence; but the matter was not speedily concluded: And in the interim the cardinal *d' Amboise*, who had in person negotiated all these, and several other important affairs, at *Trent*, agreed with the king of the *Romans*, for a prolongation of the truce between the two powers. The king's design was intercepted by many other diversions, which convinced him more and more of the inconstancy and bad intentions of the king of the *Romans*. Traité de Trente.

By one article of the treaty of *Trent*, the king of the *Romans* was to give the king the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan*, upon condition of the payment of 80000 *ecus d'or*, being 140000 livres value. This article

A. D. 1501. ticle had been confirm'd by the archduke *Philip* of *Austria*, when, by the king's consent, he passed thro' *France* for *Spain*, to receive the homage of his future subjects; for the king of *Spain* had married his daughter *Jane* to him, contrary to an express article of the treaty of *Barcelona* made with *Charles* VIII. *An.* 1494. for restitution of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*. The king receiving the archduke at *Blois* with all possible marks of honour, made in concert with him some additions to the treaty of *Trent*, and obtain'd a new promise from him to procure him as soon as possible the investiture of the *Milaneze* from the king of the *Romans*.

Notwithstanding these reiterated promises, the king of the *Romans* continually shifted off the matter, and forbore to appear at the diet of *Frankfort*; where the ceremony relating to the homage for the dutchy of *Milan* was to have been performed, in the king's
An. 1502. name, by the lord *de Piennes*, at the time of receiving the investiture. For this reason the ambassador was obliged to make a publick protest in the diet, that the king his master had done what was proper on his part; and that the king of the *Romans* had broken his word by not appearing. He required his protest to be register'd; and it was granted him.

This behaviour of the king of the *Romans* was plainly owing to the king of *Spain*'s intrigues; who, concluding that he should soon have the *French* upon his back, upon account of the kingdom of *Naples*, was well pleased that this prince should be a constant thorn in their side.

That which persons of the least insight and understanding foresaw, when the treaty concerning the division of the kingdom of *Naples* between the two kings was made publick, came to pass. The settling the limits afforded matter for disputing some articles not clearly enough expressed: Both sides proceeded to violence, and the two kings, upon advice of the quarrel, declared, that it was not their design to decide the matter by force of arms, and ordered the standards of *France* and *Spain* to be set up upon the towers of those cities, that were the cause of the difference, till the affair could be amicably determined. *Italy* was satisfied of the sincerity of their intentions;

tentions; but, at the same time, it was believed, that the two generals were desirous of a war, that they might have the glory of subjecting the realm intirely to their masters. *Gonsalvo*, surnamed the *Grand Captain*, was all this while at the head of the *Spanish* forces, and *Lewis d' Armagnac*, duke *de Nemours*, whom the king had made viceroy of *Naples*, commanded the *French* army. *A. D.* 1502. Guicciard. l. 5.

Notwithstanding this order of the two kings, the two opposite forces were so near each other, and their stations so intermix'd, that it was difficult to avoid all occasion of quarrel. The *Spaniards* began the hostilities. *Gonsalvo*, finding it difficult for him to subsist, endeavour'd to enlarge his quarters, drove the *French* from *Tripalda*, and made an attempt to surprize *Troja*; but was repulsed by *Yves d' Alegre*. Mariana, l. 27. c. 13. D' Auton, hist. de Louis XII.

In the mean time, the duke *de Nemours* received a re-inforcement of a thousand *Swiss*, and two hundred men of arms with money; and being, by that means, made stronger than *Gonsalvo*, he took reprisals of him, enter'd the *Capitanate*, and subdued it, excepting *Manfredonia* and mount *S. Angelo*. From thence he marched to *Pouille*, and took *Canosa* and some other towns about *Barlete*; where *Gonsalvo* had his chief quarters, and was himself there.

The king, upon advice of the taking *Tripalda* by the *Spaniards*, had seized upon all the effects of the merchants belonging to this nation, advanced as far as *Lyons*, and sent incessantly fresh forces into *Italy*, resolving to go thither in person, if his presence was necessary; which resolution he put in practice soon after, as well to encourage his army, as to suppress, by his authority, the great disturbances then on foot in *Tuscany*, which might have been prejudicial to the affairs of *Naples*. Ibid.

It was thought that these troubles were occasion'd by the pope and the duke *de Valentinois*, in order to extend the conquests of this duke in *Romagna*, and to share in the ruin of the republick of *Florence*, which was then infested with civil wars, upon account of *Peter de Medicis*, who had been driven out of *Florence* in the reign of *Charles* VIII. and whom several petty princes or lords of *Italy* were endeavouring

A. D. 1502. vouring to re-settle in the authority that he had formerly possessed.

The adherents of *Peter de Medicis* had already made themselves masters of *Arezzo*; upon which the duke *de Valentinois* set out from *Rome* with a small army, seized almost the whole dutchy of *Urbino*, surprized *Camerino*, and was just going to fall upon the towns belonging to the republick of *Florence*, when he received a prohibition from the king, to whom the *Florentines* had recourse, upon seeing themselves ready to be crush'd. Besides this, he obliged *Peter de Medicis*'s friends to restore the *Florentines Arezzo*, and all the towns they had taken from them.

He would not have stopp'd there with regard to the duke *de Valentinois*, who had exercis'd great cruelties, and acted many treacheries in his last enterprizes, and whom he began to hold in great suspicion; but that he judged it proper to dissemble his resentment, and to seem well satisfied with the manner in which this duke had executed his orders for the restitution of *Arezzo*. The king depended no longer upon the *Venetians:* He heard that the king of the *Romans* used all his endeavours with the pope to set him at variance with *France*. On the other hand the *Swiss* were very troublesome to him: They demanded of him *Valtoline*, which his soldiers had taken possession of some time before, and several other matters, which he was not resolved to grant them; and threaten'd him to treat with the king of the *Romans*, if he refused. In a word, it was by no means proper for him to quarrel with the pope, at a time when he was in war with the king of *Spain* in the kingdom of *Naples*. It was upon all these accounts that, when the duke *de Valentinois* came to wait upon him, he received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness and honour, and also abandoned to him the *Bentivoglio's*, the *Baglione's*, *Vitelloso*, and some others of his enemies, in consequence of a treaty that he had made with the pope, upon condition of his assisting him in finishing the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*.

Guicciard. l. 5.

The king of the *Romans*, who had very much depended upon these seeds of division between the king and

and the pope, saw plainly that this was no more to be relied upon; and, according to his custom of having always a desire to attempt something against *France*, without daring to proceed to the execution of it, he lay quiet: So that the king had nothing to do but to think of the *Neapolitan* war; which, till then, had been carried on with great success by the duke *de Nemours*. *A. D.* 1502.

This duke deliberated whether he should besiege *Barlete*: *D' Aubigny* was for it, because *Gonsalvo* was intrench'd there with the choicest of the *Spanish* troops, and so this would be a decisive blow. The rest were of a different opinion, urging, that *Gonsalvo* defending the town in person, with excellent soldiers, it must needs be a long siege; and there being but little sweet water thereabouts, the cavalry would suffer greatly, and be destroy'd; and that it would be much more advisable to make themselves masters of the other towns belonging to the *Spaniards*, which were, for the most part, either weak, or ill furnished with men and ammunition, and to be content with blocking up *Barlete*. Guicciard. l. 5. Belcarius, l. 9. Annales de France. Guicciard. l. 5.

The duke *de Nemours* followed the advice of the latter, staid behind to make the blockade of this place, and detach'd *Aubigny* to *Calabria*, who took *Cosenca*, and sack'd it; but did not storm the citadel, because he heard that *Hugo de Cardone*, a *Spanish* general, was landed at *Regio*, and advancing with a great army; and he concluded upon engaging him before he thought of any new conquests. D'Auton, Hist. de Louis XII.

Accordingly he went to meet him, and came up with him in the plain of *Terina* on *Christmas-Day*, where he attack'd and defeated him. A thousand *Spaniards* were killed upon the place, thirteen hundred taken, and fifteen colours seized.

Matters did not succeed so well at *Barlete*; for the *Spanish* general being very alert, notwithstanding the scarcity and plague that wasted the garrison, surpriz'd *Rubos*, an important post, and *la Palice*, who commanded there, was taken prisoner. This loss had been preceded by that of *Castellanette*, a small town near *Barlete*, which made the conquest of *Barlete* yet more difficult. The inhabitants took up arms against the *French* garrison, and drove them out of it.

These

A. D. 1502. These misfortunes had not happen'd, if the duke *de Nemours* had had more forces at the blockade. He expected a supply from the *Milaneze*; but an unlucky accident hinder'd *Chaumont*, governor of that dutchy, from sending it.

The *Swiss* cantons, neighbours of the *Milaneze*, had seized *Belinzoné*, which the king pretended was subject to the dutchy of *Milan*, and which they would oblige him to yield up to them. Upon his refusal, they took up arms, and perswaded the other cantons and the *Grisons* to join them; so that *Chaumont* saw an army of fifteen thousand *Swiss* and *Grisons* of a sudden upon his heels.

Chaumont wisely determined to hazard nothing: He drew together as large a force as he was able, made a little body of it, posted himself upon the plain, at the head of the passages of the mountains, and sunk all the boats of the lake *Majeur*, that might serve to carry provision to the *Swiss* camp. His project succeeded: It was not long before there was a scarcity in the *Swiss* camp. The money, which he seasonably distributed among several of their officers, made a division among them. The forces of the cantons remote from the *Milaneze*, who had no interest in preserving *Belinzoné*, mutinied, and said they would not break the alliance they had made with *France*, for a private quarrel. At length an accommodation was proposed, and a truce agreed upon. *Chaumont* obliged himself, in the king's name, not to disturb the *Swiss*, for a certain time, in the possession of *Belinzoné*; and gave them hopes, that after that term was expired, matters might be amicably determin'd.

An. 1503.

He could have done nothing better at that conjuncture of the *Neapolitan* war; which also was then upon being concluded by a treaty.

The archduke having passed the year 1502 in *Spain*, set out from thence to return to his states of the *Low Countries*. He made a proposal to his father-in-law, the king of *Spain*, to mediate between him and the king of *France*, and told him that he was well inform'd of this prince's disposition to a peace. The king of *Spain* was very backward in agreeing to this proposal; but however he submitted.

Mariana, l. 27. c. 14, 16.

The

The archduke arrived at *Lyons* in the beginning of the year 1503, where the king had rested at his return from *Italy* with the cardinal *d'Amboise*. Immediately a treaty was entered upon, and concluded the fifth of *April*. The first thing agreed upon, was a suspension of arms in the kingdom of *Naples*. Secondly, That in virtue of the marriage, that had been concluded between madam *Claudia* of *France*, the king's daughter, and Mr. *Charles*, duke of *Luxembourg*, son to the archduke, the kings of *France* and *Spain* shou'd divest themselves, the first of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the second of the dutchies of *Calabria* and *Pouille*, in favour of the young prince and princess, who from that time shou'd bear the title of king and queen of *Naples*, and of duke and dutchess of *Calabria*. Thirdly, That what the king of *France* had possessed there, before the war was declared and since, shou'd be governed in the name of madam *Claudia*, by a lord of his naming, and that monsieur the archduke shou'd govern that which the king of *Spain* was in present possession of, in the name of his son the duke of *Luxembourg*. Fourthly, That the dispute concerning the *Capitanate*, which had been the main occasion of the war, shou'd continue as it was, to be decided by unprejudiced arbitrators, to be chosen by the joint consent of the two kings. *A. D.* 1503.

Recueil de Traites par Leonard. T. 2.

These were the principal articles of the treaty of *Lyons* of the year 1503, famous in our history, because it occasion'd the lots of the kingdom of *Naples* to *France*, in the manner I am now going to describe.

This treaty appearing so advantageous to the house of *Spain*, into which the crown of *Naples* enter'd by the marriage of madam *Claudia* of *France* with *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, the king depended upon the peace as a matter of the greatest certainty, and kept back the succours, which were ready to depart in order to join the duke *de Nemours*: But he learn'd by fatal experience, that there is no securer way to put an end to war, than to prepare, as if it were to be carried on with more vigour than ever.

Guicciard. l. 5.

The king sent an order to the duke *de Nemours*, and the archduke to *Gonsalvo* for suspension of arms. The duke communicated the order that he had received to *Gonsalvo*, but was greatly surprized at his answer,

A. D. 1503. *viz.* That he cou'd not obey the archduke's command, without having first consulted the king his Master. The truth is, that this prince had acquainted him with the occasion of the archduke's journey to *Lyons*, and at the same time order'd him to pay no regard to what shou'd be written to him concerning the conclusion of a peace, till he had received farther directions from the court of *Spain*. This is one of the most noted instances of the treachery of *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, which kind of behaviour was pretty frequent and ordinary with him.

Mariana loc. cit.

The refusal of the peace was almost immediately followed by two signal actions, with which *Gonsalvo* was much pleased; because by this means he reaped the fruit of his constancy, and the wise conduct he had till then observed in this war. The first happen'd in *Calabria*, where *Aubigny* was defeated by *Ferdinand Andrada* attended by *Anthony de Leve*, who by many proofs he had already given of his courage, had risen to the command, and who by his great exploits afterwards, gain'd the reputation of one of the best soldiers in *Europe*. This misfortune happen'd to *Aubigny*, on *Friday* the 21st of *April*, near *Seminara*, where six years before he had with great glory conquer'd *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, and *Gonsalvo* both together. By this victory the *Spaniards* gain'd several towns in possession of the *French*, which open'd their gates to them.

A second misfortune, more considerably injurious to the *French*, followed upon the heels of the other.

Barlete was reduced to the last extremity by the plague and famine, and *Gonsalvo* thought proper to depart the town, leaving only a sufficient number of soldiers to prevent an attack. He had received a reinforcement of 2000 *Almains*, which put him in a condition of making any attempt. He march'd to *Cerignola*, about five leagues distance from *Barlete*, and somewhat nearer *Canosa*, which was the general quarters of the *French* army. His design was to attack this town, and by taking of it, to open a passage to the *Capitanate*, where he wou'd be able to subsist, or draw the duke *de Nemours* to a battle; and to oblige him, if he beat him, to raise the blockade of *Barlete*. He had sent before him a large number of infantry to pre-

prepare and fortify a camp at *Cerignola*, where he de- *A. D.*
ſign'd to poſt himſelf, and wait for the *French*, to 1503.
have the advantage in the engagement, if they ſhou'd attempt to fall upon him there.

He forced his march, notwithſtanding the exceſſive heat, which deſtroyed ſeveral of his ſoldiers by thirſt and wearineſs. He was purſued by the duke *de Nemours*, who plagued him for ſome time, but without being able to do him any miſchief. The nearer he approach'd to *Cerignola*, the more advantageous was his ground; becauſe it was very much incloſed with ditches, vineyards and hedges, where the *French* cavalry were almoſt uſeleſs. At length he gained the camp prepared for him, and ranged his troops there in *Battalia*.

It was already late, and within leſs than two hours of ſun-ſet. Upon this account the duke *de Nemours* conſider'd whether it was proper to attack him. But he had beſides another reaſon for forbearance. He had received the news of *Aubigny*'s defeat, and foreſaw the fatal conſequences of a ſecond engagement, if it ſhould happen not to ſucceed; for in caſe of an entire defeat, he wou'd have no more forces to keep the field, and moſt of the towns wou'd undergo the law of the conqueror. However, it was concluded in the council of war, to attack the *Spaniards*, and that immediately.

They began with a great diſcharge of the artillery, to deſtroy the entrenchments, but to very little purpoſe, becauſe they fired upon the aſcent; whereas the *Spaniards* firing croſs the *French* ſquadrons and battalions, miſs'd but little of their aim.

The fire lighting upon ſome barrels of powder in the enemy's camp, and being communicated to ſome waggons, put them into a diſorder. The duke *de Nemours* hearing the noiſe, and being moreover greatly incommoded by the *Spaniſh* artillery, immediately advanced at the head of 800 *Gendarmes*, ordering ſome battalions of infantry to follow him. By the benefit of the ſmoak of the cannon he march'd up to the *Spaniſh* intrenchments, where he diſcovered the breaches that his cannon had made. He imagined there were only ſome banks of earth caſt up in haſte; but he found a large ditch, which prevented his paſſage, and was expoſed to a terrible fire of the *Arquebuſſes*, which

A. D. 1503. more than he cou'd bear. Upon this he order'd his forces was to march, in order to withdraw, and made a faint as if he was going to look for another passage into the camp, but was kill'd in that instant by a musket-shot.

The death of the general spread a terror among the soldiers, already disheartned by the continual volleys of the enemy upon them, without any possibility of coming up with them, and they began to give ground. *Gonsalvo* perceiving the disorder they were in, issued out of his camp, and finished the defeat. It was immediately general, notwithstanding the efforts of the princes of *Salerna* and *Melphe* to stop the fugitives. The night coming on, prevented a greater slaughter: But the whole army was dispersed, and every one fled to the woods, abandoning the artillery and baggage. Besides the duke *de Nemours*, *Chandenier* was killed also, the princes of *Salerna* and *Melphe* wounded, and *Chatillon* taken.

Belcarius, l. 9.

Annales de France.

The *Spanish* historians make the number of the slain among the *French*, to amount to 3300. Our annals add another thousand to the number. There were but nine *Spaniards* killed, and not one man of note among them. This defeat of the *French* army happen'd on *Friday* the 28th of *April*, eight days after that of *Seminara* in *Calabria*. From that time the *Spaniards* look'd upon this as a lucky day for their nation, and the superstition of the *French* as the contrary for them; an extravagant notion, which is not yet wholly effaced.

The next day *Cerignola* surrender'd, as did also *Canosa*, and all the other adjacent towns. *Lewis* of *Ast* repaired to *Venosa*, *Alegre* to *Aversa*, and the other officers to other places. The principal of them met together some days after, to consider what method was to be taken in order to stop the conquests of the *Spaniards*, until they cou'd receive some new succours from *France*. They deposited some ammunition in the castles of *Naples*, and formed a small camp near *Cajeta*.

Gonsalvo was one of those generals, that knew how to make use of a victory, as well as to conquer. He march'd directly to *Naples*, and upon decamping sent *Aubigny* advice of his victory. This general, after his defeat, had escaped to the castle of *Antigola*, where he

he defended himself. He received a summons to surrender, and was forced to comply, as he had no hopes of assistance. He capitulated for the life and liberty of his garrison, and obtain'd them both: But for himself, he remain'd still a prisoner. *A. D.* 1503.

As soon as *Gonsalvo* appear'd before *Naples*, all the *French* soldiers retired to the castles, and the *Neapolitans* opening their gates to him, he entered on the 14th of *May*. *Aversa* and *Capua* followed the example of the capital, and declared for the *Spaniards*.

Gonsalvo attack'd the castles, and took the castle *Novo* by storm, in the beginning of *June*. He wou'd have been under a necessity of abandoning this enterprize, if the *French* cou'd have held out but twenty-four hours longer; for the next day after the assault, the *French* fleet arriv'd from *Genoa* with provisions, arms, and all kinds of ammunition, and with 2000 Foot. Mariana. l. 28. c. 1.

The castle *del Ovo* was forced in like manner a few days after by *Peter Navarre*, who had undermined the wall next *Pizzifalcone*, without being discovered by those in the town. This castle is the first place that was ever taken by a powder-mine. Since that time, this invention has been always used in sieges, and is now brought to great perfection. Guicciard. l. 6.

While *Peter Navarre* was besieging the castle *del Ovo*, *Gonsalvo* march'd out of *Naples* with the best part of his army, and having sent *Prosper Colonne* to the *Abruzzo*, in order to take possession of some fortresses there, that still held out for *France*, he advanced to *Cajeta*, in order to lock up this town, which was the last resort of the *French*, and to prevent them from passing the *Gariglian*.

Yves d' Alegre had entrench'd himself upon mount *Orland*, near *Cajeta*, with 4500 men. *Gonsalvo* while he was battering the town from one of the suburbs which he had made himself master of, and while his Galleys cannonaded this port, twice storm'd the intrenchments, but was beaten back; and *Hugh de Cardone*, one of the principal officers of his army was killed by a cannon-shot. The *French* fleet arrived, victualled *Cajeta*, and landed some forces; all which obliged *Gonsalvo* to withdraw, and accordingly he retired to *Castiglione*, between *Cajeta* and the *Gariglian*. Guicciard. l. 6. Mariana l. 28. cap. 12. Annales de France. Bercar. l. 9.

A. D. 1503. This retreat raised the hopes of *Alegre* and the marquis *de Saluſſes*, whom the king had named viceroy of *Naples* after the death of the duke *de Nemours*. The *French* army drew up at *Parma*; and *d'Aubigny* being a priſoner, the king had given the command to *Francis de Gonſague* marquis of *Mantua*, to prevent his declaring in favour of the *Spaniards*, who very much ſollicited him to that purpoſe.

During theſe tranſactions the pope died, which cauſed great diſturbances in *Italy*. The conſtant opinion was, that both he and his ſon the duke *de Valentinois* were poiſoned thro' miſtake, by a preparation he had made for cardinal *Adrian* called *Corneto*. The pope died of it the next day; but the duke *de Valentinois* eſcaped through the vigour of his age, and the force of his conſtitution, which admitted of the operation of the violent remedies that were given him upon that occaſion; and he was delivered from it at the expence of a terrible fit of ſickneſs.

This duke was not a little embaraſſed, knowing how much the publick was incenſed againſt him and his family. The *Urſins* and the *Colonnes* put all *Rome* into a combuſtion; but that which the cardinals were moſt uneaſy at, and very much apprehended, was, that the *French* and *Spaniſh* armies would march up to *Rome*, and take away the liberty of the conclave. And accordingly the marquis of *Mantua* no ſooner heard of the pope's death, than he ſet forward with the *French* forces, in order to go thither, having left orders with the *Swiſs* to follow him, as ſoon as they ſhould be joined by the reſt of their countreymen, which they daily expected. The *French* fleet alſo, which lay at *Cajeta*, was commanded to go and ſeize the mouth of the *Tiber*.

The approach of the marquis of *Mantua* was a matter of great conſequence, as it prevented the duke *de Valentinois* from throwing himſelf into the arms of *Gonſalvo*. He treated with the ambaſſador of *France*, obliged himſelf to aſſiſt the king with all his power againſt the *Spaniards*, in order to drive them out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and gave him hopes that the cardinals in his intereſt, would vote for cardinal *d'Amboiſe*.

This

This cardinal, who had long aimed at the popedom, depended greatly upon the negotiation, and was delighted to find, at the arrival of the army, that the election was not over; for he was much afraid it should have been made in his absence, being sure of the duke *de Valentinois*' faction, and nothing doubting but that *Julian de la Rovere*, cardinal of St. *Peter ad Vincula*, who had been long devoted to the interests of *France*, won'd also resign his votes to him. Thus he thought his matters were in a good forwardness; but he was deceived in the cardinal, who chose rather to labour for himself than another: Not that he expected to be elected pope in this conclave; for he was well satisfied of the contrary: But he was not without hopes of arriving at the *Pontificate* another time, for which reason, he was for setting up a pope more advanced in years, and less vigorous in constitution than the cardinal *d'Amboise*: And he so managed matters in the conclave of which he made himself master, that the choice fell upon *Francis Picolomini*, a person, whose virtue and conduct rendered him worthy of the chair, but whose years and infirmities soon removed the papal charge out of his hands. He assumed the name of *Pius* III. *A. D.* 1503. Belcar. l. 9. Annal. de France. Guicciard. l. 6.

His pontificate was of a shorter continuance, than cardinal *de la Rovere* could have imagined; for he liv'd but twenty six days after his election. His death exposed the duke *de Valentinois* a second time to danger and fear, because the *Ursins* and *Colonnes* had reunited against him, and carried matters to such a length, that he was very happy in that *Pius* III. granted him an asylum in the castle of *S. Angelo*: But this was the conjuncture which the cardinal *de la Rovere* laid hold of to compass his designs. He went to him to desire the votes of his faction; promised him, if he should be chosen pope, to continue him the dignity of general of the holy see, in possession of *Romagna*, and the other towns he had conquered in the pontificate of *Alexander*, great part of which had revolted upon seeing him sink under the efforts of his enemies; and in fine to procure a marriage between his daughter and his own nephew, son to *Francis Maria de la Rovere* his brother.

A. D. 1503. The duke *de Valentinois*, happy in finding such a resort under his misfortunes, accepted the offer; and procured for him the interest of the *Spanish* cardinal, whose prejudices against him relating to his attachment for *France*, were already throughly removed by his conduct in the preceding conclave. The cardinal had the same success with the *Italian* cardinals, by the great promises he made them; so that he might be fairly said to be chosen pope before the conclave. Accordingly he was created upon the first meeting; an unheard of instance, of which there had been no precedent from the time that the popes were made by the sole election of the cardinals. He assumed the name of *Julian* II. The cardinal *d'Amboise* was forced to subscribe to this election, and to go with the rest to adore him, that had so cruelly tricked him the month before

Belcar. l. 9.

In the mean time, the *French* army was advanced as far as the *Gariglian*, and had obliged *Gonsalvo*, who was much inferior in force, to withdraw beyond it. The marquis of *Mantua*, by the help of his artillery, raised a bridge upon this river; over which he passed five thousand men, who, without stopping, marched to attack the *Spanish* camp, and forced it on one side, having first gained a redoubt that covered it.

Guicciard. l. 6. Mariana, l. 28. c. 5.

It is very likely that if they had been supported, the *Spaniards* would have been entirely defeated: But the marquis of *Mantua*'s slackness prevented the consequences of this victory. *Gonsalvo*, being sensible of his danger, made his greatest efforts to repulse the *French*; and putting himself at the head of his infantry, with his battle-axe in his hand, fell furiously upon them, drove them from the redoubt, and forc'd them to repass the bridge. The slaughter was great on both sides: However the *French* remained masters of their bridge, at the head of which was a great intrenchment, which deprived the *Spaniards* of all hopes of destroying it. They made several attempts upon this bridge, sometimes with fire engines, and sometimes with other machines; but all to no purpose.

The *French* had a great advantage in the security of their bridge upon the *Gariglian:* For without that they could not penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples:* But the difficulty was, how to get any further. There were

were but two ways of effecting it: The one was to force the *Spaniſh* camp, and the other to wait till the rigour of the ſeaſon, which now began to be very bad, ſhould oblige *Gonſalvo* to decamp. The firſt was impoſſible, ſo well the general had fortified his camp: The other depended upon the reſolution of the two armies to continue incamped, notwithſtanding the rains and ſnows. *A. D.* 1503.

Gonſalvo, though incamped in a waſte country, under much greater difficulties than the *French*, reſolved to keep his forces together, looking upon it as a deciſive point to hinder the *French* army from entering the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had already moſtly ſubdued. The *French* were as ſtiff for ſome time; but diſeaſes ſpreading among their army, the infantry grew very weak; and the marquis *de Saluſſes*, who had reſumed the command upon the retreat of the marquis of *Mantua*, who had quarrell'd with the other generals, permitted his cavalry, for the benefit of forage, to canton themſelves in very diſtant quarters from each other.

Gonſalvo, perfectly inſtructed in all that paſſed in the *French* army, had a project of ſurprizing it. He got *Bartholomew Alviane*, and ſome other lords, eſpecially of the family of the *Urſins*, who brought him a conſiderable re-inforcement, to join him; made ſecret preparations for building a bridge, and when that was finiſhed, ſet out from his camp, where he left only his rear, with orders to ſtorm the *French* bridge as ſoon as it was known that he had paſſed the river. *L'Alviane* fixed the bridge upon the *Garigliano*, four miles above that of the *French*, which was built in a few hours, that river being deep, but not broad.

The marquis *de Saluſſes* having received advice of *Gonſalvo*'s paſſage, did not wait for the ſtorming his bridge; but abandoning part of his artillery and baggage, choſe to withdraw to *Cajeta*, with as many of his troops as he could get together. For ſome time he marched in good order; but *Proſper Coloune* being detached after him by *Gonſalvo*, with a part of the cavalry, he was obliged, from time to time, to halt, in order to beat him back, which gave *Gonſalvo* time

A. D. 1503. time to come up with all his army, who joined the *French* at the passage of the bridge of *Mola*.

The marquis of *Saluſſes* placed all his gendarmery againſt him, to give his artillery time to paſs the bridge, and ſuſtain'd a ſevere incounter, during which part of the infantry croſſed the river: But they were no ſooner over, than they disbanded to fly to *Cajeta*. The reſt of the troops did the ſame, according as they gain'd the banks of the river. The gendarmery were under a neceſſity of disbanding alſo. The *Spaniards* purſued the fugitives ſword in hand, and the victory was compleated by taking the artillery and baggage. This defeat happen'd alſo on a *Friday*, the twenty eighth of *December*.

Gonſalvo immediately went to lay ſiege to *Cajeta*, where nothing was wanting to make a vigorous defence: But the conſternation they were in deſtroyed the courage even of the moſt brave. They capitulated, and agreed to ſurrender the town into *Gonſalvo*'s hands on the firſt day of the year 1504. which was done, upon condition that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, in order to return by ſea or land to *France*; and that *Aubigny*, and the other priſoners ſhould have the ſame liberty: But a great number of thoſe that returned by land periſhed with fatigue and ſickneſs. Some of the principal officers were diſgraced, either for ſurrendering *Cajeta*, without defending it, or for not paying ſufficient obedience to the general's orders. There was hardly any but *Lewis* of *Aſt*, who returning long after the reſt, was well received by the king; and indeed he deſerved it. This lord, after the defeat of *Cerignola*, had repair'd to *Venoſa*, a city of the *Baſilicate*, and rallied there a part of the remains of the duke *de Nemours*'s army. He kept poſſeſſion of it, and alſo gain'd ſome conqueſts: He refuſed to be included in the capitulation of *Cajeta*, and made particular terms for himſelf and his men. He marched out of the town, drums beating, and enſigns diſplayed, traverſed all *Italy* in form of battle, and brought back his forces to *France* in good condition.

Guicciard. Jovio. An. 1504.

Brantome dans l'eloge de Louis d'Arc.

Thus the kingdom of *Naples* was loſt a ſecond time by *France*. *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, owed this fine conqueſt to the valour and prudence of *Gonſalvo*,

salvo, who had now a better title than ever to the glorious sirname of *Grand Captain*. *A. D.* 1504.

This was the unfortunate year of *France*; for two armies, which the king had sent to the *Pyrenees*, against the king of *Spain*, miscarried in their enterprizes; and a fleet, commanded by *Pregent de Bidoux*, which sailed for *Catalognia*, having been driven by a great storm, was obliged to return to the ports of *France*.

A truce was concluded for five months between the king and the king of *Spain*, which extended only to the *Pyrenees*; and the war ceased almost every where in *Italy*: But those who were apprehensive of seeing it soon renewed, were not discharged of their fear. The *Venetians* contented themselves with being spectators of all these revolutions, and waited for a proper opportunity to profit by them, as they had done after the death of *Alexander* VI. and during the duke *de Valentinois*'s perplexity occasion'd by it; for they laid hold of this conjuncture to wrest from him *Faenza*, and some other adjacent towns of less importance.

The pope complain'd greatly of it, those towns being part of the antient domain of the holy see: But he was not strong enough to oblige the *Venetians* to make him satisfaction for this invasion. The duke *de Valentinois* was in his power, and offer'd to put him in possession of some towns where he had still men and officers, upon condition of having his liberty. The pope desired nothing better than to grant him his liberty at this price: But he suffer'd himself to be imposed upon by the *Spaniards*, and put him into the hands of the cardinal *de Carvaial*, who was to be responsible for him. *Gonsalvo*, however, who was apprehensive of this duke's crafty disposition, surprized him in some intrigues against the interests of *Spain*, or at least pretended so; and upon this seized him, and sent him to *Spain*, where he was imprisoned in the castle of *Medina del Campo*. There was no more talk of him afterwards, tho' he had made so much noise in the world, only upon occasion of his death, which happen'd three years after. He had found means to make his escape, and was fled to *Navarre*, where he was killed in an ambuscade,

Mariana, l. 28. c. 8.

A. D. 1504. buſcade, at the head of ſome forces of the king of *Navarre*, with whom he was marching to reduce ſome rebels that had taken up arms againſt this prince.

His abſence daily confirm'd the repoſe of *Italy*, which the king, whoſe treaſure was exhauſted, had no more inclination to diſturb, at leaſt with regard to the kingdom of *Naples*: Beſides, he had enter'd upon a treaty of peace with the king of *Spain*, at the beginning of this year, which peace indeed could not be concluded; but the truce was continued for three years.

Recueil de Traites par Leonard, T. 2.

After the concluſion of this truce, another treaty was agreed upon at *Blois*, between the king of the *Romans* and the archduke *Philip* on one part, and the king of *France* on the other. This treaty was grounded upon the future marriage of madam *Claude* of *France*, with *Charles* prince of *Luxembourg*, ſon of the archduke, and the inveſtiture, which the king of the *Romans* was to give the king for the dutchy of *Milan*: But it was ſo advantageous to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſo prejudicial to *France*, that it was thought the king never deſign'd to ſtand by it. For, by this treaty, the king's patrimony, that is to ſay, the dutchy of *Milan*, the earldom of *Aſt*, the ſignory of *Genoa*, *Brittany*, alſo the inheritance of queen *Anne*, mother of the archdutcheſs, and beſides that, the dukedom of *Burgundy*, was to revert to him after the king's death; ſo that it was the general opinion that this prince concluded this treaty for no other reaſon but to prevent the miſcarrying of another, which he had very much at heart; I mean a league between him, the king of the *Romans*, and the pope, againſt the republick of *Venice*.

Theſe princes were all three not a little diſſatisfied with that republick. The king, among other motives for diſpleaſure, was greatly provoked at the *Venetians* for that, during the *Neapolitan* war, they had croſs'd him underhand upon an hundred occaſions, and contrary to treaty allowed his enemies to paſs through their territories. The king of the *Romans* could not pardon them the league they had made with *France* for ſeizing a part of the dutchy of *Milan*, which was a fief of the empire; and the pope had no leſs cauſe of complaint againſt them, for taking

king poſſeſſion of *Faenza*, and ſome other towns; from whence the duke *de Valentinois* had driven the uſurpers of theſe dominions of the holy ſee. *A. D.* 1504.

The pope was the moſt forward upon this occaſion, for the ſake of the great advantages which he deſigned to draw from it, in order to advance his power. His pretenſions were no leſs than to force the *Venetians* to yield up to him *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Rimini*, *Imola*, *Ceſena*, and all the dependances upon theſe towns, which had formerly been part of the domain of the holy ſee. The king of the *Romans* was to have *Roveredo*, *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Treviſa*, *Frioul*, and all their appurtenances, which he maintain'd to have been unjuſtly taken from the houſe of *Auſtria*. The king of *France*, in virtue of the rights of the dukes of *Milan*, was to have for his ſhare *Breſſe*, the territory of *Crema*, *Bergamask*, the *Cremonois*, and *Giraddada*.

The duke of *Ferrara*, the marquis of *Mantua*, the republick of *Florence*, and the king of *Hungary* were alſo to be admitted into the treaty, in order to recover the other lands, which the *Venetians* detained from them; that is, in ſhort, they were reſolved to deſtroy this republick, and to leave them hardly any thing but what they poſſeſſed on the other ſide the gulf.

The pretence for this union of the two kings with the pope was, to make war upon the *Turk*, with whom the *Venetians* had concluded a peace; and it was obſerved, that their treaty and that of the pope with the two princes was ſigned the ſame day, *viz.* the twenty ſecond of *September*.

If the execution had been as ſpeedy as it ought to have been, according to the treaty of *Blois*, and as indeed it might have been, the *Venetians* had been ruined: But while that was delayed, ſeveral obſtacles aroſe, and the blow being not ſtruck till long after, produced no mighty effect.

The delay and irreſolution of the king of the *Romans* were the main cauſes of it. He granted the king the inveſtiture of the *Milaneze*, and, at the ſame time, declared to him, that his affairs in *Germany* would not permit him to enter *Italy* till the year following. Afterwards the king fell ill of a dangerous diſtemper;

A. D. 1504. distemper, and was given over by his physicians; which was a new misfortune to put off the preparations: But he recovered.

Guicciard. l. 6. The *Venetians* took the advantage of these delays to endeavour to bring the pope off from the triple alliance. They offer'd to restore him most of the towns, that were the cause of the difference. At first he rejected their offers; but considering how little the king of the *Romans* was to be depended upon, and how great an advantage would accrue to him without any cost or expence on his side, he accepted their terms, and was put in possession of *Forli*, *Imoli*, *Cesena*, and some other towns; the two kings having no great reason to complain of him for forsaking the league, because the delay of the execution proceeded from themselves.

Bembo.

The king having miss'd so advantageous a stroke, which had been his principal motive in making the alliance with the king of the *Romans*, and in confirming the marriage of his daughter with *Charles* of *Austria*, duke of *Luxembourg*, upon conditions equally beneficial to that prince, and injurious to *France*, began to alter his thoughts upon this last article, and to hearken to the king of *Spain*'s proposals, whom the death of his wife *Isabella* had left in great trouble.

Ferdinand was king of *Castile*, and the states united to that crown, by sole virtue of *Isabel*'s right. The archduke *Philip*, and his wife *Jane*, daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, were heirs to this kingdom, and had been acknowledg'd as such by the *Castilians*, who had taken an oath of allegiance to them.

Mariana, l. 28. c. 12. & 7. *Isabel* had made a will, by which she had declared *Jane* her daughter, and the archduke, for her heirs; but had, nevertheless, given the administration of *Castile* to her husband, till such time as their grandson *Charles* duke of *Luxembourg* should arrive at the age of twenty-nine, upon supposition that her daughter *Jane* would not govern this kingdom in person, or would be prevented from doing it by her ill state of health. This clause was added, because *Jane* had now and then some fits of a delirium, that render'd her incapable of government.

There

There were ſeveral perſons at the court of *Spain*, that adviſed *Ferdinand* to take the title of king of *Caſtile*, under pretence of being deſcended of the antient kings of that realm by the male-line: But he knew how to govern his ambition, and cauſed the archduke *Philip* and *Jane* to be proclaimed king and queen of *Caſtile*. He had *Iſabel*'s will confirm'd by the ſtates of the realm, and exhorted the archduke to come ſpeedily with his ſpouſe, and take poſſeſſion of their new kingdom. *A. D.* 1504.

As many of the grandees of the kingdom wiſh'd to ſee *Ferdinand* declare himſelf king of *Caſtile*, ſo there were others that were averſe to his being even adminiſtrator of it; and, in caſe that *Jane* ſhould not be in a condition of governing by herſelf, they urged that the government devolved upon the archduke, who was already acknowledged king, and that *Ferdinand* ought to retire to his kingdom of *Arragon*.

Ferdinand was not only in pain for *Caſtile*, but alſo for the kingdom of *Naples*. He was extremely diffident of *Gonſalvo*, who reſented the limiting his authority in the kingdom of *Naples*, upon the ſuſpicions that *Proſper Colonne*, this general's enemy, had ſuggeſted of his fidelity; and he was apprehenſive that the kingdom would be put into the hands of the archduke. He had received information that the pope and the king of the *Romans* had founded *Gonſalvo* upon that head; and he knew that the archduke was governed by ſuch counſellors as animated him againſt him, and perſwaded him that it was contrary to his honour to appear at *Caſtile* with the title of king, without the royal authority. Some ſteps which the archduke had taken after the death of *Iſabel*, made *Ferdinand* believe that he hearkened to theſe counſels: Beſides, he was under ſome apprehenſions of *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, and *John d'Albret*, king of *Navarre*, whom he had provoked by ſeveral cauſes of diſcontentment. If theſe princes ſhould have made a league with the archduke, and he ſhould be ſupported by *France*, and the party that he had in *Caſtile*, he ſaw plainly that he had all the reaſon in the world to take care of himſelf.

Ferdinand,

A. D. 1504. *Ferdinand* amazed at the dangerous prospect, that threatened him on all sides, thought he cou'd make no better provision for his security, than to reunite as soon as possible with the king of *France*. He knew that this prince had a great regard for *Germana de Foix*, his sister's daughter. Her therefore he demanded of him in marriage, offering to settle the crown of *Naples* upon the children begotten of her body.

The king, who had laid aside all thoughts of reconquering the kingdom of *Naples*, and had indeed a very tender affection for his niece, accepted the proposal; and the more readily, because there was a clause added, that in default of issue by this marriage, that part of the kingdom of *Naples*, which had fallen to the king's share upon the division of that kingdom between him and *Ferdinand*, shou'd revert to him. He received also, by way of recompence, a large sum of money, which at that time he stood much in need of, by reason of the great expence he had been at in the *Neapolitan* war, and some other conditions were stipulated to his advantage. *Ferdinand* had gain'd the pope and the cardinal *d' Amboise*, by inserting in the treaty some articles in their favour, to the intent that the pope might not defer granting a dispensation for the nearness of their relation, nor the cardinal oppose the negotiation.

This treaty is in the Treasor des Chartes, and is related in the Memoires de Bethune, vol. 5691.

This treaty was signed at *Blois* on the twelfth of *October*, the peace was published between the two crowns, the marriage solemniz'd in *March* the year following at *Valladolid*, and the *Neapolitans* took an oath of allegiance to *Ferdinand* and *Germana* his wife, as king and queen of *Naples*.

A. D. 1505.

This news caused great broils in the courts of *Spain*, *Italy* and *Germany*. Vehement complaints were made of the injury done to prince *Charles* of *Austria*, who was deprived of the kingdom of *Naples*, and also that of *Arragon*, in case of issue, by this marriage

For the same reason the archduke was more especially under a consternation: But he chose to behave moderately upon the occasion, and said that the king, his father-in-law, was master of his own actions, and it did not become him to find fault with the marriage. However, he continued in his resolution of going to *Spain*, in order to be recognized a-new by his subjects

Mariana, loc. cit.

jects of the kingdom of *Caſtile*, and embarked at *Middlebourg* in *Zeland* in the beginning of *January*, with *Jane* his wife, in a fleet of above eighty ſail. This voyage proved long and unfortunate, by reaſon of ſeveral accidents that fell out in the courſe of it. The archduke was forced to put in at *England* by a ſtorm, and did not ſet ſail again till the twenty-third of *April*. *A. D.* 1505. Haræus Annal. Braban. An. 1506. Ibid. Petrus Angleria. Epiſt. 303, 304.

He landed in *Galicia*, at *Cormema del Condé*. Before his departure from the *Low Countries*, he had ſent an ambaſſador to the king, his father-in-law; a negotiation was begun at *Salamanca*, and it was agreed between the two kings (that is to ſay, *Ferdinand*, whom for the future I ſhall call king of *Arragon*, and *Philip*, to whom I ſhall hereafter give the title of king of *Caſtile*, which title he had already taken upon him) and the queen, that they ſhou'd all three have an equal authority in *Caſtile*; that all publick inſtruments ſhou'd run in their name; that as ſoon as the king of *Caſtile* and queen *Jane* arriv'd at their ſtates, the people ſhou'd take an oath to them as their ſovereigns; that they ſhou'd do the ſame to the king of *Arragon*, as adminiſtrator of the realm, and to *Charles* duke of *Luxembourg* as heir to the kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, and *Granada*; that the revenues ſhou'd be equally divided between the two kings; and that the governors of the towns and fortreſſes ſhou'd be named, one half by one of the kings, and the other half by the other. Mariana loc. cit.

This extraordinary ſcheme of government made the *Caſtilians* apprehenſive of great troubles, eſpecially when the king of *Caſtile*, being landed with his forces, declared that he wou'd not ſtand to the treaty of *Salamanca*. *Ferdinand* was already determined what to do, and reſolved to retire to his kingdom of *Arragon*, at leaſt for ſome time, provided there was no attempt made to force him there. This was what he declared to his ſon-in-law the king of *Caſtile*, in a conference that he had with him at a place called *Remeſſal*. And indeed he was in a condition to diſpute the matter with the king of *Caſtile*, being maſter of moſt of the fortreſſes, where he had the commanders at his devotion. Petrus de Angleria, Epiſt. 307.

A. D. 1506. The offer which this prince made to depart *Castile*, was too advantageous to the new king, not to be accepted with the conditions annexed to it. He demanded, and it was agreed, that he shou'd reserve to himself the grand mastership of the military orders, certain legacies left him by the will of the late queen his wife, the revenues of the *Indies*, which were not then so considerable as they have been since, and a pension of 25000 crowns.

As soon as all these articles were agreed to, *Ferdinand* set out for *Arragon*, in hopes of speedily seeing a change in *Castile*. He made a secret protest in presence of some lords against this treaty, to which he declared he had been forced. He charged *Frederick* duke of *Alba* to be careful of his interests, and gave orders to all those of his party to follow this duke's advice in every respect.

Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 311. The king of *Castile*'s joy at the great advantage he had gain'd over his father-in-law, was greatly abated by the news he received at *Valladolid* of what had passed in *France* at the states of *Tours*.

I have already observed, that the king resolving to humble the *Venetians*, and to recover from them all that they had taken from the ancient domain of the dutchy of *Milan*, had by the treaty of *Blois*, *An.* 1504. confirmed the marriage before intended between madam *Claude* of *France*, his daughter, and *Charles* of *Austria*, duke of *Luxembourg*, upon conditions as advantageous to this prince and princess, as they were prejudicial to the state; so much so, that it was the common opinion, the king had passed the treaty without any design to execute it. He had already made one step this way, by contracting an alliance with the king of *Arragon*, and marrying his niece *Germana de Foix* to him; but after all, he was under a necessity of finding out some way to make such an entire rupture, as might be consistent with his honour.

The expedient which he pitch'd upon for this purpose, was to assemble the states, at the instances of several lords of the kingdom in concert with him. This meeting was held at *Tours*, where they laid before him the great inconveniences of the treaty which he had made, and of the marriage which he had concluded between madam *Claude* of *France*, and *Charles*

S. Gelais. Hist. de Louis XII.

of

of *Auſtria*. He anſwered, that he had nothing more at heart than the benefit of his ſubjects, but he cou'd not without great reluctance recede from the promiſe he had given for the marriage in queſtion. *A. D.* 1506.

They replied, that he was obliged by his coronation oath to provide for the ſecurity of the people God had intruſted him with, above all other things; that it was not in his power to alienate the domain of the crown, at leaſt without a conſiderable advantage accruing thereby to the ſtate; that the alienation he had made upon occaſion of this marriage, was on the contrary very prejudicial to it; and, in a word, that he cou'd not oblige the princeſs in perſon, who was yet a minor; and that they humbly intreated him to marry her to *Francis* count of *Angouleme*, preſumptive heir of the crown; which wou'd be a much properer match for the princeſs, and more for the good of the ſtate.

The king being convinced by theſe and ſome other reaſons urged upon that occaſion, which perſuaded him to nothing contrary to his inclinations, told them that he wou'd conſider of it, and communicate his reſolution to them the next day in the general aſſembly of the ſtates. Accordingly, he declared to them, that in compliance with their zeal for his glory and the good of his ſubjects, he granted them the requeſt they had made ſuch preſſing inſtances to him for, *viz.* that the princeſs ſhou'd not be eſpouſed to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, and that he conſented to her marriage with *Francis* count of *Angouleme*, preſumptive heir of the crown.

Upon this, the whole aſſembly broke out into an extremity of joy, which the moſt part expreſſed rather in tears than words; and the king was ſo ſenſibly touched with it, that he cou'd not refrain from tears himſelf. This joy was compleated, when upon the 21ſt day of *March*, being the feaſt of the aſcenſion, the princeſs was betroth'd to the count in the preſence of the whole court, by the cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, after which the king diſmiſs'd the ſtates.

Thus this prince corrected the greateſt miſtake he ever had been or cou'd be guilty of; if indeed he ever had an inclination to commit it: For he plainly foreſaw, that before prince *Charles* and the princeſs *Claude* were of an age to marry, many alterations wou'd fall out, to open a paſſage to him for departing from this treaty.

A. D. 1506. He gave all his allies advice of what had passed at *Tours*, and particularly *Henry* VII. king of *England*, by *Claudius Seyssel* his ambassador at that court; from which prelate's speech, delivered at the audience he had of that prince upon this occasion, I have extracted most of the particulars relating to this grand affair.

Seyssel. Oratio ad Regem Angliæ.

It was not so easy to recommend the matter to the approbation of the kings of the *Romans* and *Castile*, because of the great injury accruing from thence to *Charles* of *Austria*, duke of *Luxembourg*, who began at that time to be called prince of *Spain*. The king contented himself with letting them know that he had been forced to this resolution by the states of his kingdom, who had made use of their right upon this occasion. These princes were not in a condition of shewing their resentment. They were much more afraid of the king, than he of them; and those who were sent upon this errand, met with a better reception from them, than they expected.

D' Auton. Hist. de Louis XII.

The king of *Castile* more especially had reason to be afraid of the king's falling upon the *Low Countries*, during his absence, if he shou'd break with him: And besides this, he had several disputes in *Castile*, where the mines, which the king of *Arragon* had laid before his departure, in order to embarass him, began to spring. The discontent of the *Castilians* began to break out: But the death of the king of *Castile*, caused in all probability by his debauches, and the grief which several incidents had brought upon him, gave a new turn to affairs.

The king of *Arragon* was all this time at *Naples*, where he had continued upon account of the suspicions, that had been suggested to him of *Gonsalvo*'s fidelity. He had found all there perfectly subject to his orders, and was in no haste to depart; being well assured of the duke of *Alba*'s devotion to him, of *Francis Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*, and of those, who had been chosen by this prelate to govern, during the interregnum.

Mariana, l. 29. c. 1.

Ferdinand always maintain'd an intire correspondence with the king of *France*. The pope also carried fair with this prince, in hopes of recovering, by his help, the rest of the towns that had been formerly

ly forced from the holy see. *Chaumont*, governor of the *Milaneze*, assisted him by the king's order in subduing *Perusia* and *Bolonia*. There remained now only some few in the hands of the *Venetians*. The pope was appriz'd of the king's inclination to renew the league concluded at *Blois* against the republick: But the misunderstanding between the king of the *Romans* and this prince, caused by breaking off the marriage between the prince of *Spain*, and madam *Claudia* of *France*, rendered the execution of it impracticable. The king of the *Romans* however was so far interested in the renewal of this league, that the pope did not despair of persuading him to a second engagement. But a new incident retarded the measures proposed for this purpose. *A. D.* 1506.

The *Genoese* revolted, and gentle methods were in vain made use of to reclaim them, which obliged the king to march in person at the head of an army to chastise them. He met with great difficulties, as well from the animosity of the people, as from the great number of forces which this republick had raised: But he carried his point with much glory; and the expedition was managed with all possible prudence and vigour. It cost him an obstinate battle; but the king gaining the victory, the *Genoese* were forced to surrender at discretion.

The clemency with which he used them, charm'd them. He allowed them to continue all their antient customs, only with this difference, That, whereas they had formerly held them by the title of contracts made with the kings of *France*, they were now confirm'd only by the name of privileges, with a reserve of right to deprive them of them upon a new relapse. Guicciard. l. 7.

The expedition of *Genoa* discovered a scene of incomprehensible politicks. *Demetrio Justiniani*, one of the principal leaders in the revolt, being condemned to be beheaded, confess'd, upon his examination, that the pope had fomented the revolt of *Genoa*, at the same time that he was impatient of renewing the league against the *Venetians* with the king. This prince, who had his thoughts upon the same design, provided he could persuade the king of the *Romans* to enter again into the league, promised the *Venetian*

A. D. 1506. ambassadors to support them against him, in case he should attack the republick.

Ferdinand of *Arragon*, notwithstanding the treaty he had made with the king of *France*, one article of which was, that the children to be born of him and *Germana de Foix* should inherit the kingdom of *Naples*, decreed at a meeting of the states of this kingdom, that the children of his daughter *Jane* should succeed to the crown; notwithstanding which infraction, he put himself into the hands of the king of *France* at an interview that he had with him at *Savona*. These are mysteries, which it is difficult to fathom: The king, upon this occasion, honour'd *Gonsalvo*, who attended the king of *Arragon*, with some distinguishing marks of respect; and we may say that this was the last glorious day which this famous general enjoyed: For *Ferdinand*, through the suspicion he had conceived of his fidelity, left him without employ, and without recompence the rest of his days, and shew'd him no other mark of acknowledgment for the signal services he had done him, than that of a magnificent funeral after his death.

Guicciard. l. 7. D'Auton, Hist. de Louis XII. An. 1507. Brantome, dans l'eloge de Gonsalve

The king of *Arragon*, on the other hand, to express his esteem for the lord *d'Aubigny*, who had remarkably distinguished himself in the wars of *Italy*, and was laid up with the gout, did him the honour of a visit.

The two kings having passed three days together, took their leave of each other; the king to return to *France*, and *Ferdinand* to continue his journey for *Spain*, where his absence had given occasion for many disorders after the death of king *Philip* of *Austria*.

There was a debate concerning the administration of the kingdom of *Castile*, by reason of queen *Jane*'s incapacity to govern; and several projects were set on foot for that purpose. The most plausible were to recal the king of *Arragon* to take upon him the administration, or to confer it upon *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, grandfather of *Charles* prince of *Spain*, and heir to the crown of *Castile*. Most of the grandees were for *Ferdinand*, and he carried it. At his arrival at *Castile* he presented the archbishop of *Toledo* with the cardinal's cap, who had been of great service to him upon this occasion during his absence.

In

In the mean time the king of the *Romans* had assembled a large diet at *Conſtance*, where he harangued, with great vehemence, upon the king's entering *Italy* with a numerous army. The envoys of the pope and the *Venetians* ſeconded him, and repreſented the danger, which the whole country was in, of falling a prey to the king of *France*. The happy ſucceſs of this prince in his *Genoeſe* expedition encreaſed the alarm, and very much ſtagger'd the diet, which was upon the point of concluding the league between all the princes of the empire againſt *France*. *A. D.* 1507. Guicciard. l. 7.

The king's private agents at *Conſtance* endeavour'd, under hand, to remove all theſe ſuſpicions, by repreſenting that the king could not diſpenſe with himſelf from leading an army into *Italy*, to ſubdue the rebels that had taken up arms againſt him. Theſe remonſtrances were ſeconded by a conſiderable diſtribution of money, which abated the heat of the warmeſt oppoſers; and, in a word, the conduct, which the king obſerved after his reducing of *Genoa*, by immediately returning into *France* with his army, baffled the king of the *Romans* meaſures, and deprived him of the pretence, which he made uſe of to animate the princes of the empire againſt *France*; and it was only decreed that the empire ſhould furniſh him with an army of 8000 horſe, and 22000 foot for ſix months, when he deſign'd to go to *Rome* to be crown'd emperor.

This reſolution of the diet confounded the *Venetians*; for the emperor demanded a paſſage through their territories in his way to *Rome*; and, on the other hand, the ambaſſador of *France* declared, that in caſe of their granting him this paſſage, *France* would break with them; repreſenting to them, that the king could not, with any prudence, forbear, at ſuch a conjuncture, to march an army into *Italy*, and advance as far as the ſtate of *Venice*, at a time when the emperor was paſſing through it with his forces.

The ſenate deliberated upon the matter; but could come to no reſolution that was not attended with great inconveniences, whether they granted or refuſed the emperor's requeſt; whether they declared for him, or united with the king of *France* againſt him: So they choſe to delay the matter as long as they could, and offer'd the emperor a paſſage through their ſtates. Guicciard. l. 7. Juſtiniani l. 10. Hiſt. Venetæ.

A. D. 1507. in his journey to *Rome*, provided he came without his army.

This answer very much perplexed the king of the *Romans:* But he resolved upon a method; and having sent some forces to different places, in order to leave the *Venetians* in suspence, what road he would take, he demanded quarters of them for 4000 horse at *Verona*. They refused him, and he expected no less; but he had need of this refusal to justify the irruption which he design'd to make upon the states of the republick.

Guicciard. l. 7.

Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 380.

Accordingly, being arrived at *Trent*, he declared that he would look upon all such as enemies that should oppose his passage. The marquis of *Brandebourg* enter'd *Frioul*, and seiz'd *Cadora*. The king of the *Romans* march'd thither himself, ravaged fifteen or twenty leagues of the country, took the forts of *S. Martin* and *Pieve*, and made himself master of all the valley, which open'd to him the road of *Trevisan*. After this expedition he returned to *Inspruck* at the end of *February*, which very much surprized the world: But it was this prince's custom to begin enterprizes, without having patience to finish them.

An. 1508.

In the mean time *Bartholomew Alviane*, general of the *Venetians*, came to assist the invaded country, invested and utterly defeated the *Germans*, retook *Cadora* and the other towns, enter'd first the territories of *Frioul*, which belong'd to the king of the *Romans*, and then *Istria*, where he took *Trieste*.

The *Germans* maintain'd their ground somewhat better in the *Trentin*, where some skirmishes past with various success, till the six months service of the forces of the empire being expired, most of them withdrew, and left the country in great danger of being forced from the emperor. He proposed a truce with the *Venetians*, who accepted it: It was concluded for three years. By this truce the tranquillity of *Italy* was again established: But it was not long before it was plunged into a more fatal war, which had well nigh ruined the republick of *Venice*. This war was the consequence of the league concluded against *Venice* at *Cambray* between the pope, the emperor, the king of *France*, and the king of *Spain*.

I have

I have already mention'd, in ſpeaking of the league concluded at *Blois*, *An.* 1504. the motives, upon which the pope, the king of the *Romans*, and the king of *France* united againſt the *Venetians*. Theſe motives were ſtill the ſame. That which inclined the king of *Spain* to enter into the league was of the ſame nature, *viz.* to oblige the *Venetians* to reſtore him the towns of *Pouille*, which had been mortgaged to them upon occaſion of *Charles* VIII's expedition to the kingdom of *Naples*. *A. D.* 1508.

The cardinal *d'Amboiſe* went to *Cambray* to treat with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, regent of the *Low Countries*. The particulars of the negotiation were made no ſecret of there, ſo far as they related to the differences between the king of the *Romans*, the king of *France*, and the prince of *Spain* about the *Low Countries*: But, under this pretence, they treated with the utmoſt privacy upon the league, againſt the *Venetians*; and it was concluded that the pope, the kings of the *Romans*, *France*, and *Spain*, ſhould prepare with all expedition, and as much ſtrength as they could bring into the field, to enter the ſtate of *Venice* on all ſides, and each of them to retake from that republick all that they pretended belonged to them. This treaty was ſign'd at *Cambray*, *December* 10. 1508.

The *Venetians* had ſome ſuſpicion of what was contriving againſt them at *Cambray*; but they had no certain account before they received it from *Rome*. The pope acquainted the *Venetian* ambaſſador; and as he was very apprehenſive of the increaſe of the king of the *Romans*, and the king of *France*'s power in *Italy*, he acted upon this occaſion in the ſame manner as he had acted in the league of *Blois*; repreſented to the *Venetians* how great the danger was that threaten'd them, and endeavour'd to perſuade them to reſtore him what they had yet in poſſeſſion of the domain of the holy ſee. He offer'd them not to confirm the league, and to raiſe ſome obſtacles againſt it, provided they would yield *Rimini* and *Faenza* to him.

They refuſed not ſo much out of haughtineſs, as becauſe they were afraid that upon the ceſſion of theſe two places, he would take advantage of the ſame

A. D. 1508. same danger to force them to restore him *Ravenna* and *Cervia*.

In the mean time the pope confirm'd the league; after which they offer'd him *Faenza*, but he would not hearken to it. They were no better received by the emperor, who refused to give their ambassador audience. They made no attempt upon the kings of *France* and *Spain*, because they foresaw plainly it would be to no purpose. Thus they were necessitated to run the risk of this dangerous war: They made great preparations both by sea and land, constituted the count of *Petiliane* generalissimo of their armies, and gave him *Bartholomew Alviane* for lieutenant-general.

S. Gelais, Hist. de Louis XII. Acte de cette declaration au recueil de Traites de Leonard. T. 2.

The king of *France* was first in the field: He passed the *Alps* in *April*, and sent the herald *Montjoye*, his king at arms, to declare war upon the *Venetians* with the ordinary formalities. The marshal *de Chaumont* committed the first act of hostility: He passed the *Adda* with 3000 horse, and 6000 foot, besieged *Trevi*, took it, and made *Justiniano Morosini* the proveditor prisoner of war, with all the garrison.

Guicciard. l. 8.

As soon as the pope heard of the marshal *de Chaumont*'s irruption upon the territories of *Venice*, he publish'd, in conformity to one article of the league, a thundering bull against the republick, by which he summoned them to surrender all that they had usurped from the holy see upon pain of church censures, and an interdict upon the State. The republick answered him by a manifesto: But their defence was not to be managed by writing, which would have no more weight, than what their arms gave it.

The count of *Petiliane* and *l'Alviane* advanced to *Fontanella* an advantageous post, from whence they sent a detachment to retake *Trevi*. The king hasten'd his march by two days to go to succour it; but, notwithstanding all his speed, the town was surrender'd before he was able to reach it, which gave him a good deal of concern, not so much out of regard to the importance of the place, as because he was in hopes, that this siege would have given him an opportunity of engaging them in battle; which he as much desired, as the *Venetians* feared it.

He

A. D. 1508.

He purſued his march, and came up within cannon-ſhot of the enemies camp, but found them ſo well poſted, that he did not judge it adviſable to fall upon them there: Both ſides fired at each other; but he decamped, and went to attack *Rivolta*, which he took by ſtorm, the *Venetians* not ſtirring out of their camp.

Seyſſel hiſt. de Louis XII.

Two days after he marched to the village of *Aignadel*, as if he had been going to ſeize *Pandona* an advantageous place, in order to intercept the convoys which came with proviſion to the enemies camp from *Crema* and *Cremona*. This march embaraſſed the *Venetians*; and *l'Alviane* having with great vehemence repreſented in council the importance of this poſt for the ſubſiſtance of the army, it was reſolved, that they ſhould march immediately to take poſſeſſion of the place, before the arrival of the *French* army.

There were two roads to *Pandona*, one that was long, and followed the courſe of the river *Adda*, and another that was ſhorter to the right of the *French* army. The king took the former, and the *Venetians* the latter.

Guicciard. l. 8. S. Gelais, hiſt. de Louis XII.

Thus the two armies marched in theſe two roads aſide each other, ſeparated by a kind of torrent, in which there was but a very ſmall depth of water, and by a number of ditches and buſhes, of which the whole country was every where full: But they were ſo near, that the fired upon each other as they marched.

As the *Venetians* had taken the ſhorteſt way, they had the advantage of the *French*; ſo that the vanguard of the latter found themſelves upon a line with the rear of the *Venetian* army. The marſhals *de Chaumont*, and *de Trivulca*, who commanded the van, uſed all their endeavours to bring on a battle: But the ground was ſo uneven, that it was impoſſible to march up in rank and order to the enemy.

They detached however a body of gendarms to fall upon the back of the *Venetian* rear. *L'Alviane*, who commanded it, made a hault, and ordered ſome battalions to ſtop them, by firing their arquebuſſes as they paſſed the ditches, which they were obliged at every turn to leap their horſes, without being able almoſt to keep their ranks.

At

A. D. 1508.

At the same time he advertised the count *de Petiliane* that he was attacked, and desired him to come back and assist him. The count sent him word to continue his march; and only to take care not to suffer himself to be routed, for such was the order of the seignory: But *l'Alviane*, either because he could do no otherwise, or out of an itch of fighting, agreeable to his impetuous genius and ambition, as *Brantome* describes him, or out of hopes of gaining a great advantage over the *French*, by the difficulty they wou'd have to come at him in form of battle, had, before he received the generalissimo's answer, made some new battalions advance to support the former, and vigorously repulsed the *French* gendarms, upon whom, at the same time, were fired six pieces of artillery plac'd upon the bank of the river.

Brantome dans l'eloge de l'Alviane.

The gendarms were obliged to make their retreat sword in hand: But some of them fell under their horses into the ditches, and many others were killed by the enemy's cannon, and the fireshot of their infantry.

The two marshals ordered some other regiments to advance, to facilitate the retreat of the gendarms, and to answer the fire of the *Venetian* infantry. The king, hearing the news of the skirmish, and being inform'd that the vanguard was in danger, marched immediately up to the place with some forces out of the *corps de battaile*. He passed through the midst of a great discharge; and as some courtiers of his retinue, not finding themselves very safe in that warm situation, represented to him the great danger he exposed himself to, he answered with a banter, that those who were afraid, might place themselves in covert behind him.

Brantome dans l'eloge de Louis XII.

He commanded the duke of *Bourbon* and *la Trimouille* to fall upon the *Venetian* infantry, each with an hundred or six score chosen men of arms, and forbad the rest to leave their ranks, unless commanded. The presence, and danger of the king, encouraged as much as possible these brave nobles. They leaped the ditches and hedges, enduring a terrible volley, and fell upon the enemy's battalions, with such an extreme fury, that they were not able to sustain the effort. They drove them to a place, which the other cavalry, that

that the king detached to ſupport the two regiments I have been ſpeaking of, were able to reach with more eaſe. The fight inſenſibly became general between the van of the *French* and the *Venetian* rear: But there were not at that time any forces in *Europe* able to reſiſt the *French* gendarms, being wholly compoſed of gentlemen. The enemies cavalry abandon'd their infantry. The count of *Petiliane* came with ſome ſquadrons to ſuccour *l'Alviane*: But, being hindered by the great number of fugitives, who left him no room to paſs, he retired to his vanguard to preſerve it, and abandoned all the baggage and artillery, which was in the *corps du battaille* to the number of thirty-ſix great pieces. *A. D.* 1508. An. 1509.

This action, which happened on the fourteenth of *May*, laſted three hours. Hiſtorians differ in relating the number of the ſlain on the enemies ſide. Our hiſtorians make them amount to twenty thouſand, others to fourteen or fifteen thouſand; *Guicciardin* to ſeven or eight thouſand, which is moſt likely. There were but two hundred of the *French* killed, others ſay five hundred, and no one perſon of note. *The* Journal de Louiſe de Savoy *ſays, it was the 14th of* April. *But by the courſe of the hiſtory, it appears, that* Guichenon *who firſt publiſhed this journal was miſtaken in tranſcribing the date of the manuſcript.*

L'Alviane, in the heat of the battle, was diſmounted by *Vandeneſſe* with the thruſt of a lance, by which he loſt his eye, and was taken priſoner. *Peter* marquis *du Mont*, one of the beſt of the *Venetian* captains, was killed upon the ſpot. Their loſs conſiſted almoſt wholly of infantry, who fought much better than their gendarmes and light horſe.

Such was the ſucceſs of this great action, which the *Italians* in their hiſtories call the battle of *Giraddada*, or *Vaila*, and the *French* the battle of *Aignadel*, becauſe it was fought near a village of that name.

The king, ſays *Brantome*, purſued the fugitives to the ſea ſide at *Chafouſine*, from whence he fired at random five or ſix hundred vollies of cannon againſt *Venice*, that he might be able to ſay, he had at leaſt cannonaded the impregnable city. Brantome, dans l'hiſt. de Louis XII.

But this prince did not ſtop here. He conquered in a few days, *Caravaggio*, *Breſſe*, *Cremona*, *Bergama*, *Crema*, and ſeveral other towns and caſtles. *Peſcara*, upon the lake *de Garda*, was attacked and taken by ſtorm: So that in ſeventeen days he made himſelf maſter of all the towns that had been the occaſion Seyſſel Hiſt. de Louis XII.

A. D. 1509. casion of the war, so far as it related to him, that is to say, of all those which had formerly depended upon the dutchy of *Milan*.

Guicciard. l. 8. The loss of the *Venetians* did not end there. The duke of *Ferrara*, at the head of the pope's forces, had entered *Romagna*, where he took *Faenza* and *Ravenna*, the most considerable of all the towns, which the pope wanted to recover out of the hands of the republick.

The duke of *Ferrara* did not forget himself, but seized a large territorry called the *Polesin* of *Rovigo*, between the *Adige*, and the *Tanar*, which the *Venetians* had taken from him. The marquis of *Mantua* made himself master of *Asola* and *Lunato*. The count *Frangipani*, and the duke of *Brunswick*, generals of the king of the *Romans*, retook *Trieste*, and all the towns which this prince had lost in *Frioul* during the last campaign: And the bishop of *Trent* drove the *Venetian* garrisons out of several fortresses of the *Trentin*.

It is impossible to express the consternation of the republick, upon so sudden and general a revolution. They sent to the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the pope, to persuade them to break with the *French*, by making them the most advantageous offers.

The emperor and the pope refused to hearken to them. As for the king of *Spain*, it was some time before they could receive his answer; and in the interim, his officers accepted the offer that was made them of the ports of *Pouille*, and took possession of them. The *Venetians* abandoned them, because they wanted troops to guard them.

Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 420.

Guicciard. l. 8. This stiffness of the pope and the emperor drove the *Venetians* to the utmost despair. But two things served to revive their hopes. For first, they were well informed, that how inflexible soever the pope might appear in regard to them, the conquests of the king of *France* gave him some jealousy and disquiet. The second was the just and honourable behaviour of the prince to the emperor. It was in his own power to make himself master of *Verona*, *Padua*, and *Vicenza*, which sent him their keys; and, being once master of all these places, he could have hemm'd in all the rest of the state. He might afterwards have come with his

his victorious army to besiege *Venice* by land; while the fleet, which he had ready at *Genoa*, block'd it up by sea; and the *Venetians* expected it. But he was resolved to let all *Italy* know, how scrupulously generous he was. He refused the offers of the deputies of *Verona* and the other towns, and sent them to the king of the *Romans*'s ambassadors, who were in the *French* army, and took possession of them in the name of their master. In a word, he resolved to proceed no farther till the emperor was advanced in *Italy*. *A. D.* 1509. Bonacorsi. Petr. de Angleria. ep. 418.

The *Venetians* were in raptures at this conduct of the king, who gave them time of respite: But for all this they had been lost, if the emperor had done his duty, and arrived sooner with but one half of the force that he had promised. But this prince was always the same, that is, always negligent in affairs of the greatest importance to him. He did not reach *Trent* till about the middle of *June* with a small force, and sent the king of *France* letters full of acknowledgments for the generous conduct he had observed towards him. The cardinal *d'Amboise* went to welcome him at *Trent*, where an interview was agreed upon between the two princes: But the emperor afterwards desired to be excused. The reason of his altering his opinion in this particular, was thought to be the smallness of his court, and because he was ashamed to appear in an equipage so unworthy of him, amidst that of *France*, which never was finer.

In the mean time, the king was informed, that the pope began to abate much of his resentment against the *Venetians*; that the king of *Spain*, who had depended upon the restitution of the towns of *Pouille*, gave himself no great trouble, but was content with reaping benefit from the labours of his allies, without any expence of his own. In a word, he saw there was little dependance for him upon the king of the *Romans*. Besides all this, he was out of order in his health, which having been impaired by the fatigues and great heats he had endured, he fell sick at *Milan*. All these reasons weighed with him to resolve to be content with securing his conquests by strong garrisons, and to return to *France* with part of his forces. Only he sent a considerable detachment to the king of the *Romans*, under the command of *la Palice*.

During

A. D. 1509. During his return he made a new treaty with the pope at *Biagrassa*, who had sent the cardinal *de Pavia* to him for that purpose. By this treaty they promised to defend each other's state, and agreed mutually to be at liberty to treat with the other princes or states, as they should think proper, provided it was not to the prejudice of either of the two. Though this article was without restriction, it related to hardly any but the *Venetians*, with whom they would have a right to treat as they judged convenient. The king, after the conclusion of this treaty, continued his march to the *Alpes*, and re-entered *France* in the beginning of *August*.

Guicciard. l. 8.

Even before the departure of the king, the king of the *Romans*'s little precaution, lost him a great part of the towns, which the *French* had conquered for him. He had commanded *Leonard Dressina* a *Florentin* gentleman to go and take possession of *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, and some other towns in his name, and gave him the same commission for *Trevisa*. He went thither with a very small attendance, as he had done to the other towns just named. Some exiles, whom the republick had permitted to return, upon account of the war, united together, thinking it no ways contrary to the intention of the senate, to keep this town in their obedience. They put *Marco Casolaio* at their head, a popular man, who, being joined by the most resolute of the citizens, drove out *Dressina*. The senate approved this action, and a few days after arrived the count *de Petiliane*, who supplied the town with provision and amunition, and put it in a posture of defence.

A few days after the proveditor *Andrew Gritti* came privately to *Padua*, where *Dressina* commanded, and surpriz'd it. And afterwards several castles, that were no better guarded than *Padua*, declared for their old masters. The *Venetians* almost at the same time made themselves masters of *Lignago* upon the *Adige*, a town at that time well fortified, and of consequence for its situation: But at length the emperor arrived with his army, which put a stop to these beginnings of a revolution.

This prince resolved to besiege *Padua*. The *Venetians*, who were aware of it, omitted nothing that

that was neceſſary for the defence of this place, the taking and keeping of which was that upon which the ſafety of the republick depended; and, among other things, it was reſolved in the ſenate, that all the ſons of the nobility, capable of bearing arms, ſhould reſort thither, in order to defend it to the laſt extremity, under the command of the count *de Petiliane*. *A. D.* 1509.

The emperor had a fine army conſiſting of *Germans*, *Spaniards*, and ſome *Italian* forces, and ſome *French*, whom the king had ſent to the king of the *Romans*, commanded by *la Palice*.

The town was vigorouſly attacked, but better defended; ſo much better, that the emperor thought proper to break up after ſixteen days ſiege. The pope received this news with joy; for he was not much leſs apprehenſive of the ſucceſs of the king of the *Romans*'s arms in *Italy*, than of thoſe of the *French*. The king was neither ſurprized nor concerned at it. The king of the *Romans* returned to *Germany*: And he was hardly entered upon his march, when the *Venetians* ſurprized *Vicenza*. *Verona* had ſhared the ſame fate, if *d'Aubigny*, who had notice of the deſign, had not ſaved it by repairing thither with three hundred gendarms.

The *Venetians* recovered the *Poleſine* from the duke of *Ferrara*, and began the ſiege of *Ferrara* itſelf, but without ſucceſs, and with the loſs of ſixteen galleys. What differences ſoever broke out between the pope and the king of *France* upon account of the nomination to ſome benefices, thoſe which continued between the king of the *Romans* and the king of *Spain*, touching the adminiſtration of *Caſtile*, very much abated the warmth of all thoſe princes that were in league againſt the *Venetians*, which was matter of great joy to them. However, both the one and the other were terminated; and, if the pope had had the ſame diſpoſitions with the king of the *Romans* and the king of *France*, the *Venetians* would have run the risk of being entirely cruſhed by a ſecond campaign. Thus affairs ſtood at the end of *An.* 1509. and in the beginning of the following year. An. 1510.

The pope had got well nigh all that he aimed at, by the taking of *Faenza* and *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*. He purſued the deſign that he had long ſince formed, of driving all ſtrangers out of *Italy*, and eſpecially the

A. D. 1510. *French*, who, he thought, were most to be feared. *Henry* VII. king of *England* was dead. This prince had always kept measures with *France*, because he owed his crown to it. His son *Henry* VIII. who succeeded him, was differently disposed. The king had all the reason in the world to apprehend a diversion on that side, and the pope's nuntio was instant with the king of *England* to persuade him to declare war upon *France*. Besides the pope had sent *Matthew Scheiner*, bishop of *Sion* in *Valais*, to the *Swiss* cantons, to bring them off from the *French* alliance, with the promise of a cardinal's cap, if he succeeded. He carried his point, as I shall soon tell you, and was made a cardinal.

The emperor also was sollicited by the pope to accommodate matters with the *Venetians*, and also to unite with them and him, in order to drive the *French* out of *Italy*. This prince was greatly staggered, both by the offers that were made him, and also by the disappointments he met with in the diets where he demanded succours of the princes of the empire. For these princes being gained by the pope, answer'd, that before he made new preparations for war, it was proper to see if no method cou'd be found out for an accommodation with the *Venetians*.

The king was informed of all these intrigues, and no longer doubted of the ill intentions of the pope, when he heard, that he absolved the *Venetians* from the censures he had pronounced against them, contrary to an article of the treaty of *Cambray*. It was chiefly by the sollicitation of the archbishop of *York*, the *English* ambassador at *Rome*, that they obtained this absolution. It was given with the most mortifying ceremonies for the republick: But they submitted to them, because their dominions lay at stake.

In the mean time happen'd the rupture between the king and the *Swiss*, caused by the intrigues of the bishop of *Sion*. The conjuncture had been favourable to him, in that the term of the last alliance between the king and the cantons was ready to expire, and because the *Swiss* being puff'd up with the necessity he lay under for their service, made a haughty demand to have their pensions increased.

The

The king had been greatly offended at these dishonourable methods. He received the deputies of the cantons roughly; and giving too much way to his anger at a time when it wou'd have been more seasonable to conceal his resentment, he talk'd to them in contemptible language. He was the less concern'd for their friendship, because a treaty was already far advanced between him and the states of the *Valais* and the *Grisons*, by which, upon condition of like pensions with those of the *Swiss*, they were bound to furnish him with troops, to open his army a passage to the *Milaneze*, and refuse his enemies that privilege. The *Swiss* on the other hand were exasperated, and the bishop of *Sion* by that means gain'd the point he aim'd at.

A. D. 1510.

Recueil. de traites avec les suisses, par Leonard. T. 1.

The Pope, secure of the *Swiss*, and the favourable dispositions of the king of *England*, resolved to pursue his project, and began with quarreling with the duke of *Ferrara* for making salt at *Commachio*; pretending, that being a feudatory of the holy see, he con'd not make use of this privilege without his permission, and threaten'd him with the censures of the church if he did not desist. But the duke did not much regard him, being sure of the king's protection, and hearing that this prince had made a closer union than ever with the king of the *Romans*.

Guicciard. l. 5.

Accordingly, the king supported the duke of *Ferrara*, and order'd the marshal *de Chaumont* immediately to enter the *Venetian* territories, and at the same time the ambassadors of *France* and the king of the *Romans* summon'd the pope to join his forces to those of these two princes, in execution of the treaty of *Cambray*.

The pope upon this summons answered plainly, that he wou'd send no forces against the *Venetians*; that he had satisfied the treaty of *Cambray*; that the kings of *France* and *Spain* were in possession of the towns that were to come to them by this treaty; that nothing remain'd but for the emperor to make himself master of *Treviso*; that the *Venetians* offering this prince money in exchange for the country he claimed of them, he had nothing to do but accept it; and that since he procured him an equivalent, he cou'd have no farther demand upon him.

A. D. 1510.

There were, however, some farther negotiations upon this subject, which put off the marshal *de Chaumont*'s march; but it appearing that the pope was only endeavouring to amuse them, the *French* army join'd to that of the duke of *Ferrara* and the king of the *Romans*, passed the *Po*. The marshal took several towns, and among the rest, *Vicenza* and *Lignago*.

Mocenigo. l. 3.

S. Gelais Hist. de Louis XII.

About this time died the cardinal *d'Amboise*; in whom the king and kingdom lost an able minister, and one that was zealous for the good of the state.

The king of the *Romans* at that time made over *Verona* to the king for 50000 ducats, on condition of delivering it up into his hands upon payment of the money. This place was necessary to secure and extend the conquests of the king's army. *Monselice* was again besieged, being a considerable town in the *Paduan*, and carried by assault on the 21st of *June* by *la Palice*. The prince of *Henault*, general of the forces of the king of the *Romans*, pressed the marshal *de Chaumont* to besiege *Treviso*. But he did not think proper to engage any farther; and, pursuing the king's order, turn'd his views and attention upon the *Milaneze*.

Bembo. Bonacorsi.

This precaution was judicious and seasonable; for the pope, in concert with the *Venetians* and the *Swiss*, was thinking to make an attempt upon *Genoa*. The measures were well taken: But the marshal's vigilance, and the activity of the commanders that were left in the *Milaneze*, made this design prove abortive.

He had better success in causing his army to enter the territories of the duke of *Ferrara*, where they took what belonged to the duke, on the other side the *Po*: But he soon recovered again what he had lost. The pope's forces took it from him a second time; and the cardinal of *Pavia* surpriz'd *Modena*. He had lost *Regio* also, if the marshal *de Chaumont* had not sent him succours, though he was wholly taken up against the *Swiss*. For the whole nation had at that time resolved with one consent to revenge themselves upon the *Milaneze* for the contempt the king had shewed towards them.

They

They took the field, to the number of about ten or twelve thousand men: But the marshal guarded all the passages so well, harass'd them in such a manner with his cavalry, and was so successful in his endeavours to intercept their provisions, that they were forced to return without having made the least attempt, as much to their own shame, as to the glory of the marshal's wise conduct. A *Venetian* historian compares it to that of *Fabius Maximus* against *Hannibal*. This comparison was then much in fashion in the republick of *Venice*. One of the praises given the count *de Petiliane*, who died a little before, was by applying to him the verse, in which the poet *Ennius* celebrates the prudence of the *Roman* general. *A. D.* 1510.

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

But as it was impossible for *Chaumont* to do every thing, the *Venetians* taking the advantage of his absence, recovered what he had seized in the *Paduan* and the *Vicentin*. They also besieged *Verona*; but the sole talk of his approach made them raise the siege. Guicciard. l. 5.

The pope however made a fruitless attempt upon *Genoa*, which served only to discover more and more his malice against *France*; which, however, did not hinder the king, who began to be tired with the *Italian* war, from proposing an arbitration of the differences between the duke of *Ferrara* and his holiness. The pope gave an haughty answer to it, that he wou'd accept his offer, provided he added one condition to it, which was to quit *Genoa*, and restore that republick to its ancient government. This answer, and the resolution, which he was inform'd the pope had taken to besiege *Ferrara*, made him lay aside all hopes of an accommodation. He resolved to support the duke of *Ferrara*, whatever it shou'd cost him, and made a new treaty with the emperor, for the vigorous prosecution and furtherance of the war.

The pope, upon the news of it, pronounced an anathema against the duke and his adherents, and came to *Bolonia* in the end of *September*, to hasten the preparations for the siege of *Ferrara*. The *Venetians* were very much against this siege; but they depended upon the pope: And how difficult soever it

A. D. 1510. was for them to moderate his warmth, and bear with his obstinacy in his opinions, they were obliged to conform. But the marshal *de Chaumont*'s activity caused the design of the siege to miscarry, and the news, which the pope received of what had been concluded at *Tours*, between the king and the bishop of *Gurk*, envoy of the king of the *Romans*, gave him great uneasiness.

He was appriz'd that the two kings had agreed to call a general council; that several cardinals had been made acquainted with the design; and he was convinced that this had been the occasion of the flight of the five cardinals, who had escaped during his journey from *Rome* to *Bolonia*, and fled to *Florence*, from whence they had afterwards repaired to *Milan* for greater security. But he was in a much greater confusion, when he saw himself invested in *Bolonia* by *Chaumont*, who had on a sudden turn'd his course thither to seize him.

However, he put a good countenance upon the matter, and while all his court was in a consternation, and the cardinals conjured him to remove himself out of so dangerous a situation by some agreement; he answer'd, That he wou'd sooner perish than do any thing unworthy his dignity. After all, he suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon, and sent *John-Francis de Mirandola* to the marshal's camp, to enquire if he had any proposals to make to him.

This deputation perplex'd *Chaumont*, who, on one hand, knew that the king's intention was to make peace with the pope, and on the other, conceived that the success of his enterprize depended upon a speedy execution, and upon his not suffering the papal court to recover the fright they were in. After some little consideration, he concluded, that to avoid being responsible for the success of the attack of *Bolonia*, which cou'd not possibly be carried, it was his best way to pursue the king's views for an advantageous accommodation with the pope.

He drew up a proposal, which he gave the pope's envoy, who having read it, seem'd very irresolute, and did not declare his sentiments till the day was passed. *Chaumont* finding the answer long a coming, decamped the next day, and approach'd nearer to *Bolonia*.

lonia. Several conferences alſo were held, which the pope prolonged on purpoſe to gain time; and in the interim, 800 horſe were brought him by *Chiappino Vitelli*, and 400 more with ſome *Spaniſh* lances by *Fabricius Colonne*. He had advice that the *Venetian* army had paſſed the *Po* to march for *Bolonia*: And by that means, thinking himſelf out of danger, he ſent *Chaumont* his laſt anſwer, in which he told him, that it was in vain to offer new propoſals, unleſs he wou'd firſt promiſe him to abandon the duke of *Ferrara*. *A. D.* 1510.

Chaumont ſeeing himſelf deprived both of his opportunity and the accommodation, and having no great quantity of proviſion with him, returned to his camp of *Rubiera*, near *Modena*, declaring however, to ſave his honour, that he did it at the intreaty of the ambaſſadors of the princes, who were with the pope, *viz.* the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of *Spain* and the king of *England*, who indeed had entred into the negotiation; and that he wou'd give the pope time to conſider of the propoſals he had made him.

This was about the end of *October*. The *Venetians* had a mind to put an end to the campaign, and did not doubt but it was agreeable to the pope's intention that they ſhou'd do ſo, who was juſt recovered of a ſevere fit of ſickneſs: But he declared to them, that he was reſolved to demoliſh the duke of *Ferrara*, to beſiege the capital of his dutchy, and to deprive him of his ſtates: But before he entred upon the ſiege of *Ferrara*, it was neceſſary for him to be maſter of *Mirandola*, in order to ſecure the communication of his army with *Modena*. The *Venetians* ſubmitted to every thing that he required, againſt their inclinations: But notwithſtanding they made all poſſible haſte to ſatisfy the pope, *Mirandola* cou'd not be inveſted till about the end of *December*. The counteſs of *Mirandola*, who was a widow, and daughter of the marquis *de Trivulca*, ſhut herſelf up there, in order to defend it with 500 foot and ſeventy horſe, under the command of *Alexander Trivulca* her couſin-germain. This was as great a number as was neceſſary, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the place, and the rigour of the ſeaſon; for it was a very ſevere winter that year. Bembo.

A. D. 1510. The pope, to encourage the soldiers, came along with the army, and lodged within three leagues of the camp, at the village of *S. Felix*, between *Concordia*, of which he had made himself master, and *Mirandola*. It was not long before the besiegers were in great distress, not only by reason of the cold, rain, and snow, but also upon account of the scarcity of provision, caused by the difficulty of convoys. The duke *de Ferrara* and the marshal *de Chaumont* had placed troops in several little posts, from whence there continually issued out parties that ravaged the country.

Hist. du Chevalier Bayard. c. 42. *Peter du Terrail*, better known by the name of chevalier *Bayard*, who had distinguished himself upon several occasions in the war, commanded a small body five leagues off. He was the most dangerous neighbour an army cou'd have; as the pope had well nigh found by fatal experience.

Bayard had got information that the pope was set out from *Felix* upon a certain day, in order to go to the camp: Upon which he chose out an hundred men of arms to lie in ambush upon the pope's road, having first sent the duke of *Ferrara* word to pass the *Po* with some regiments to support him, in case he shou'd have need of them.

The pope went into his litter early in the morning; but his equipage march'd before, and came right upon the ambuscade. *Bayard* immediately issued out, fell upon those that conducted it, and pursued them with full speed in their flight to St. *Felix*, not doubting but the pope was just behind them. But he was mistaken; for the pope was scarce out of town, when there fell so heavy a snow, that he was obliged to turn back. And yet he narrowly escaped being taken; for he was hardly come down from his litter to return into the castle, when *Bayard* arrived with his men. The pope ran to the castle gate, being so close press'd, that he had but just time to cause the drawbridge to be pull'd up, which he gave a helping hand to himself. He escap'd with the loss of some mules, some of his domesticks, and two bishops, who were carried to the duke of *Ferrara* by *Bayard*.

This danger did not hinder the pope from going some days after to the camp. He placed himself within cannon-shot, and two of his officers were killed

led in his tent. He went to the trenches, visited the batteries, rode about the quarters to encourage the officers and soldiers, and it was agreed, that without his presence and application, the siege had been raised. But at length the town capitulated, and surrender'd on the 20th of *January*. The pope entered it by the breach, as conqueror; and had nothing more to think of but the conquest of *Ferrara*. *A. D.* 1510.

Soon after, the marshal *de Chaumont* died at the age of thirty-eight years, which was a great loss to the king at this conjuncture. The marshal *de Trivulca* took the command, till the king shou'd name another governor of the *Milaneze*. As he was not acquainted with the intentions of this prince, he durst not attempt any thing, but applied himself only to hinder the enemy's progress. Memoirs du Marechal de Floranges. Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

The *Venetian* forces, and those of the pope began the blockade of *Ferrara*; and to deprive them of all communication with the country, there was but one little town to be taken, called *Bastide*. It was besieg'd by 6000 infantry, and 200 *Spanish* horse, under the command of *John Fort*, a *Venetian* captain. Ibid. c. 44.

The place was hard put to it, and the duke of *Ferrara* very uneasy at the danger to which it was exposed. The chevalier *Bayard* undertook to succour it, and acted with so much conduct, that he surpriz'd the enemy; and though they were stronger than him by one half, he cut them to pieces. They lost four or five thousand men, their baggage and artillery, and this victory saved *Ferrara*. Brantome dans l'eloge du Chevalier Bayard.

In the mean time the king of *Spain* procured a negotiation for peace, and the bishop of *Gurk*, whom the king of the *Romans* had honoured with the title of his lieutenant-general in *Italy*, came to wait upon the pope at *Bolonia* in his name. The resolution of this prelate, and his generosity in refusing the great offers which the pope made him, upon condition of his using his interest to persuade the king of the *Romans* to declare against *France*, prevented the success of the negotiation; and both sides began to act more vigorously than ever. The king and the king of the *Romans* procured the pope to be cited by the five cardinals abovementioned to the general council, which they called at *Pisa* for the first of *September*. The marshal Bembo. Buonacrosi. An. 1511. Petrus de Angleria. Ep. 452.

A. D. 1511. marshal *de Trivulca* came to encamp upon the banks of the *Po*, and the duke of *Urbino*, general of the pope's army, came likewise to incamp upon the opposite side of this river; the first to defend the *Ferrarois*, the other to attack it.

The king of *Spain* made another attempt for peace; but in the mean time *Trivulca*, by the help of the *Bentivoglios*, surprized *Bolonia*: One part of the garrison was cut in pieces; and the marshal soon after falling upon the army of the pope and the *Venetians*, put them to the rout, took the baggage and artillery, a great number of standards, and several general officers, but without making any great slaughter; because the soldiers having immediately taken the alarm, the most part saved themselves by flight.

Guicciard. l. 9.

This defeat happen'd on the 21st of *May*. The duke of *Ferrara* took the opportunity to recover several little towns, by which he secured his capital, and *Trivulca* march'd forward to the extremity of the *Bolonois*, to wait there for the king's orders, without proceeding any farther, knowing that this prince was always disposed to peace.

The pope, notwithstanding his courage, cou'd not forbear shewing his concern at so many misfortunes; and not thinking himself safe at *Ravenna*, where he then was, he set forward for *Rome*. At the same time he received the news, with a good deal of uneasiness, that the order for assembling the council at *Pisa*, in the name of the five cardinals, who had forsook him, and of the three procureurs of the emperor, was fixed up at *Modena*, *Bolonia*, and other towns in *Italy*. He was very ill treated in this placart, and the reason for assembling the council was grounded upon the decrees of the council of *Constance*, which had ordered that a general council shou'd be called every ten years. This gave occasion for renewing the old dispute, touching the authority of the pope and council, between the divines and canonists, and in the mean time the prelates of *France* and the empire were order'd to repair to *Pisa*.

Ibid. l. 9.

All this was done to oblige the pope to make propositions of peace himself: For though the *French* army was in a condition to penetrate even to *Rome*, where the pope durst not stay for them, yet the king, who foresaw

saw that the more formidable his power grew on the other side the *Alps*, the more enemies he should draw upon himself, was not for pushing matters to that length, without an absolute necessity. *A. D.* 1511.

Thus the king of *Spain*, who thought every step the *French* made in *Italy*, was design'd against his kingdom of *Naples*, immediately sent an army thither, and began to enter upon a stricter alliance than ever against *France* with the king of *England*, his son-in-law: But upon this news, the king, to remove all suspicion from him, order'd *Trivulca* to return to the *Milaneze*. The marshal executed his orders, but retook *Mirandola* in his way. Petrus de Angleria. Ep. 455.

The king made another proposal for an accommodation, and certainly his moderation wou'd have reclaim'd any other person but *Julius*: But the more the king condescended, the stiffer the pope grew. That which encouraged him, was his having an assurance of being supported by the king of *Spain*, and his hopes of succeeding to the same purpose with the king of *England*: But he had always a great share of disquiet upon his mind, touching the assembling the council at *Pisa*; and to ward off this stroke, which he had truly great reason to be afraid of, he resolved to call a general council himself at *Rome*. He publish'd the convocation-bull, which had a great effect; and they began every where to doubt more than ever, whether the calling a council at *Pisa* had been a lawful act, and much more after the pope had summon'd a council to meet at *Rome*.

In the mean time this strange scene was upon the point of being unravelled by a fit of illness, which reduced the pope to the last extremity: But he recovered, and it made no alteration in his conduct. He compass'd the design for which he had been so long soliciting the king of *Spain*. This prince entered into league with the *Venetians* and the holy see; and the *Swiss*, animated by the bishop of *Sion*, who had been made a cardinal, prepared for a new irruption upon the *Milaneze*. Guicciard. l. 10.

In the mean time the council of *Pisa* was open'd, but in such a manner, as gave little hopes of success. The four cardinals, who had left the pope, for the fifth, which was cardinal *de Borgia*, was dead at

Luca,

A. D. 1511. *Luca*, were not present at the opening, no more than the bishops of *France*, notwithstanding several of them were already arrived in *Italy*. Both the one and the other drew back as much as possible, for fear of censures, and the loss of their dignities and benefices: Thus the council was open'd, if I may so speak, by none but proxies and deputies sent to *Pisa*. At last, being compell'd by the king's orders, the four cardinals, fourteen bishops of *France*, the archbishops of *Lyons* and *Sens*, some abbots and *French* doctors repair'd to *Pisa* on the thirtieth of *October*. A few days after was held the first session, and the cardinal *de Carvaial* was chosen president of the council.

Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 463.

As soon as the pope heard of the opening of the council, he laid the city of *Pisa* and *Florence* under an interdict, excommunicated all those that should adhere to the council, and pronounced the sentence of deposition against the cardinals. The *Florentines* appeal'd from the pope's sentence unto the council. The deposed cardinals publish'd manifesto's, and several pieces were written on both sides, the one against the council, and the others against the pope.

The council held some farther sessions, in which every thing was transacted with tumult: The populace of *Pisa*, alarm'd at the interdict, could hardly contain themselves. Every day produc'd fresh quarrels between the citizens and the *French* soldiers: And at one time they carried the dispute so high, as to take up arms, and some persons, on both sides, were wounded and killed. This produced a proposal for translating the council to *Milan*, which the cardinals and bishops easily agreed to. They set out for *Milan*, whither they arrived with as great satisfaction to see themselves secure, as the *Pisans* express'd upon their being delivered from the fear of foreign troops, and in a capacity of obtaining from the pope a revocation of the interdict.

Surius in commentar. ad hunc an. Guicciard. l. 10. Coccinius, T. 2. Rerum Germanic. Marq. Freheri.

The council did not much increase at *Milan*; for, notwithstanding the orders of the king of the *Romans*, the *German* bishops refused to go to it; and count *Felix*, of *Werdemberg*, with some others, who were not bishops, were the only persons he sent thither to assist in his name.

The

The council, however, appointed a fourth session on the middle of *December:* But the news of the invasion of the *Swiss* made them adjourn it to the fourth of *January* following. *A. D.* 1511.

There met at *Vareſa*, upon the frontiers of the *Milaneze*, about 16000, in order to ravage the country; and, if possible, to join the allies, in case they would keep them in pay. Bembo. Grandenico.

Gaſton de Foix, duke of *Nemours*, the king's nephew, a young lord about two or three and twenty years of age, had been lately made governor of the *Milaneze*. He had, notwithstanding his youth, already given so many proofs of his courage, prudence, and abilities in war upon several occasions, that the king made no difficulty to trust him with this post, the most important that was at that time in *France*. The invasion of the *Swiss* was the first occasion that he had since his new dignity to shew his great talents.

He had a very small force, and scarce any infantry, most of them being employed in defending the frontier towns, both upon the borders of the *Venetian* and ecclesiastical state. He followed the example of the marshal *de Chaumont*, when the *Swiss* enter'd the *Milaneze* in his time, which was to avoid fighting, and harass them with flying camps, and intercept their provisions. He succeeded; and after some days, the *Swiss* being unable to subsist, return'd to their mountains, without having done any other feat than that of burning fifteen or twenty villages in the *Milaneze*. Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

This news deliver'd the king from a great deal of uneasiness. He sent *Gaſton de Foix* a considerable sum of money to raise a large body of infantry in *Italy*, and ordered all the men of arms that he had in pay in *France* to be upon the march, excepting those that he retain'd upon the frontiers of *Picardy*, by reason of the suspicion he had of the king of *England*, who, notwithstanding the fine words with which he amused the king, was actually going to enter into the league, having suffer'd himself to be gain'd over by the sollicitations of the pope and the king of *Spain*.

In the mean time the king of *Spain* had sent a large force into *Italy*, and made *Raymond de Cardone* viceroy of *Naples*, and *Peter Navarre* general of the infantry

A. D. 1511. fantry under his direction. This officer had blotted out of the minds of the soldiers the meanness of his birth by the generosity of his behaviour: For it is confidently affirm'd, that he had been footman to the cardinal of *Arragon*. He was a little man, of great fire, and of an enterprizing and active genius, who had very much improved himself in the knowledge of war, by the instructions and example of the *Grand Captain*, under whom he had served for several years.

The first considerable expedition of the *Spanish* general, after he had joined the pope's forces, was the An. 1512. siege of *Bolonia* in the month of *January*. The place was too large to be all entirely invested; so they made their attack, and raised their batteries on the side next *S. Stephens*, by the great road that leads from *Bolonia* to *Florence*; and, at the same time, *Navarre* order'd a trench to be thrown up by the gate of *Castiglione* to set on the miner. The wall by *S. Stephens* was very weak, and the cannon, in a very short time, made a breach of a hundred fathom wide, and the assault would have been given immediately, but that the fosse was not wholly filled up with fascines, nor the mine ready, which was preparing at the gate of *Castiglione*.

As soon as this was done, the troops designed for the assault betook themselves to their arms on that side, and by the breach of *S. Stephen*'s wall. The besieged, who had no suspicion of the mine, had been lost, if that had taken effect; but as it did not, the assault was deferr'd, and the troops return'd to their posts.

This delay gave the duke *de Nemours* time to come and succour the town. He had drawn up his forces at *Final*, upon the frontiers of the *Modenois* and the *Milaneze*. He set out from *Final* two hours after night, with 11000 foot and 1300 lances: He arrived at *Bolonia* in the morning, and, by the help of a snow that fell in great fleaks, he enter'd by the gate of *S. Felix*, the farthest distant from the enemy's camp, without being discovered by them.

If he had issued out at the same time upon them, he had entirely defeated them: But his army was so fatigued with the roughness of the roads, and the badness

badneſs of the weather, that it was by no means in a condition to engage; beſides that, he could not imagine it was poſſible for a whole army to enter the town, without their having ſome notice of it: So that he delayed ſallying out till the next day, in caſe the enemy ſhould not decamp. *A. D.* 1512.

His notion of the impoſſibility of concealing his arrival from the enemy, prevented him from taking a precaution that would have been very much to his advantage, I mean from hindering any perſon to go out of the town. Some troopers went to ſcour the country, and one of them was taken by the enemy. Being examin'd what was doing in the town, he made no ſecret of the duke *de Nemours*'s arrival; of which, in all appearance, they could not be ignorant.

They made their advantage of this information; and when the night came on, moved off their artillery and baggage with very little noiſe, and drawing up before day, march'd for *Imola*; nor was their deſign diſcovered, till it was too late.

Thus both the enemy's army and *Bolonia* were ſaved, after each of them had eſcaped the greateſt danger they could poſſibly be expoſed to. The ſiege was raiſed in the beginning of *February*, nineteen days after the arrival of the confederates before the town. Buonacorſi.

The ſame day that they decamped, the duke *de Nemours* received the diſagreeable news of the ſurprize of the city of *Breſſe* by the proveditor *André Gritti*. The affair was ſo well managed, and the revolt of the inhabitants ſo general, when they ſaw themſelves ſupported by the *Venetian* army, that the lord *de Lude*, governor of the town, having but a ſmall body of ſoldiers with him, was fain to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle; from whence he immediately ſent an account of this misfortune to the duke *de Nemours*, acquainting him, that if he was not ſpeedily ſuccour'd, he ſhould run the risk of being forced.

This general ſaw plainly that there was no time to loſe, and leaving 4000 foot, and 300 lances in *Bolonia*, under the command of *Lautrec*, he march'd forward with the reſt.

Bolonia

A. D. 1512.

Bolonia was near forty leagues distant from *Bresse*. The way to it was over several rivers, and through some very difficult passages: But the general was beloved by his men, who, upon this occasion, shew'd a zeal, which he look'd upon as a good presage of the success of his enterprize. He march'd thirty *Italian* miles in one day, and meeting with *Baglione*, one of the *Venetian* generals, who was carrying a large re-inforcement to *Bresse*, he order'd the chevalier *Bayard* and *Teligni* to fall upon him, who cut him in pieces. This news being brought to the besieged, encouraged them. A few days after arrived the duke *de Nemours*, and enter'd the castle on that side next the country.

Matters were, by this means, far advanced; but the enemy had an entire army in the town, and were strongly intrenched between the town and the castle. The duke *de Nemours* gave his army one day's rest, and attack'd the intrenchments the next day in the morning, which were for some time stifly defended; but forc'd at last.

The duke *de Nemours*'s authority over his men was remarkable upon this occasion: Not a soldier went out of his place to pillage; and he gave himself all the time that was necessary to rank his men in order; a piece of conduct which turned much to his advantage: For the *Venetian* gendarmery, all the light horse, and a great part of the infantry, were drawn up in the place of arms, the proveditor *André Gritti* having persuaded himself that the *French* would fall eagerly upon the pillage, after they had forced the intrenchment; and that, by this means, he should be able to dispatch them with ease. He was mistaken, however; but the duke *de Nemours* was obliged to engage a second time in the place of arms. This fight lasted half an hour, when the *Venetians* gave ground, and were destroyed with a great slaughter. The *Italian* historians agree, that 8000 *Venetians* perished in several combats. The proveditor, *André Gritti*, was taken with many noble *Venetians*. The victory also cost the *French* a world of souls; and, among the rest, the chevalier *Bayard* received such a prodigious thrust of a pike upon his thigh, that the iron stuck in his flesh, together with the end of the wood

wood to which it was faſten'd. The wound, however, was not mortal. *A. D.* 1512.

After this vigorous action, *Bergamo*, and ſome other towns, which had revolted to the *Venetians*, after the taking of *Breſſe*, ſued for pardon, and obtain'd it.

The duke *de Nemours* ſoon took the field again to go in ſearch of the enemy, of whom he was now become the terror. *Bolonia* ſaved, one part of the *Venetian* army defeated, *Breſſe* retaken after two battles, and all this perform'd within leſs than fifteen days, made him reputed in all parts of *Europe* as the greateſt ſoldier at that time in being. He made preparations for the continuance and advantageous ſupport of this character, and for the execution of the preſſing orders which he received from the king, *viz.* to draw the *Spaniards* to a deciſive battle.

Theſe orders were occaſion'd by the king of *England*'s entering into the league with the pope, the king of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*, becauſe the king of the *Romans* ſeemed diſpoſed to draw back, who accordingly made a truce ſome time after with the *Venetians*; and finally becauſe the *Swiſs* alſo ſhew'd an inclination to declare againſt him. The king plainly perceived that if he loſt a battle, there was an end of his ſtates of *Italy:* But he was in hopes of preſerving them if his arms were ſucceſsful; whereas, on the contrary, he would certainly loſe them, by reaſon of the diverſions which the confederates were going to make on all ſides, which would oblige him to withdraw moſt of his forces out of *Italy*. Guicciard. l. 6. Journal de Louiſe de Savoye.

The duke *de Nemours* had drawn together his army at *Final* in the *Modenois*. It was 18000 foot ſtrong: His gendarmery was very numerous, and he had ſome light horſe. He uſed all his application to draw the confederates to a battle, which they were reſolved to avoid as much as poſſible, for the ſame reaſons that obliged the duke to engage.

He made ſeveral marches and countermarches to join them: But they always took particular care to poſt themſelves in ſuch a ſituation, as to place ſome paſſages and rivers between him and them. At laſt he reſolved to beſiege *Ravenna*, being perſwaded that the confederates, and eſpecially the pope, would not

A. D. 1512. suffer this place to be taken, without endeavouring to succour it, which would afford an opportunity to put his design of fighting in practice.

He was not mistaken in his judgment: The generals of the allies being informed that they had already begun to storm the town, which had been well defended, approach'd the camp of the duke *de Nemours*, who march'd out to attack them, and both armies cannonaded each other. The cannon of *Peter Navarre*, who was strongly intrench'd with the infantry, destroyed above 2000 of the *French*, who, nevertheless, sustain'd the fire for three hours. The duke *de Nemours*'s cannon made great havock also among a large regiment of gendarmes, commanded by *Fabricius Colonne*; above 300 of whom were killed; which gave occasion for the engagement: For *Colonne* being vexed at the loss of so many of his best soldiers, without once drawing a sword, charged a squadron of gendarmery, among whom were the duke *de Nemours*, and the chevalier *Bayard*. These two lords being seasonably supported by *d'Alegre*, *Colonne* was repulsed and defeated, and lost 300 men of arms.

Hist. du Chevalier Bayard, c. 54.

Memoires du mareshal de Fleuranges.

Raymond de Cardone, viceroy of *Naples*, who had a very fine person, but neither courage nor experience, and was therefore sometimes called madam *de Cardone* by the pope, being startled at this defeat, and seeing a large body of gendarmery coming up to him, fled immediately with his men, and stopp'd not till he had reach'd *Ancona*, about thirty leagues distant from thence.

Carvaial, who commanded the rear, followed this bad example, and the duke *de Nemours* detach'd after him the chevalier *Bayard*, and *Lewis d'Ars*, to disperse this cavalry entirely, and prevent them from rallying behind the infantry. They compleatly executed their orders, and took the marquis *de Pescara*, covered over with wounds, and the marquis *della Palude*, who had in vain used all their endeavours to rally the fugitives.

The duke *de Nemours* being, by this means, secure of the battle, went to his infantry, and ordered them to advance, with a design to force the intrenchments of *Peter Navarre*. Upon this ensued a long and bloody

bloody fight: The *Spaniſh* infantry made a prodigious reſiſtance: Nor was the foſſe conquer'd but at the expence of the lives of a great number of the common ſoldiers and officers, who periſhed upon the occaſion. When it was forced, *Peter Navarre*, who had ranged his men in *Battalia*, armed with pikes, fought to the laſt extremity: But the *French* gendarmery coming up, enter'd by the breach of ſome battalions, and entirely defeated their infantry, of whom they made a great ſlaughter, and *Peter Navarre* was taken. *A. D.* 1512.

The victory was compleat: There was only one regiment of *Spaniards* remaining, who withdrew in good order by the great road. The duke *de Nemours* would not let them eſcape him; and, not giving himſelf time to encompaſs them, which he might have done with a little patience, he took with him a ſmall number of gendarmes, and march'd in order to break thro' them: This was the fatal ſcene of his unhappy deſtiny. The *Spaniards* faced about, and preſented their pikes. The duke *de Nemours*, raſhly venturing to croſs the ranks, received a thruſt in his ſide, and at the ſame time ſeveral other wounds, to the number of fourteen, of which he died immediately, thus buried in his victory, after he had raiſed his reputation at the age of three or four and twenty years, by the great actions he had performed in the ſpace of three months, above that of any officer of his time, and merited the ſirname of the *Thunderbolt of Italy*.

Brantome, dans l'eloge de Gaſton de Foix.

The *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* accounts differ in ſeveral circumſtances of this battle, and in particular in that of the death of the *French* general; but all agree that there was much blood ſpilt upon this occaſion, and that there periſhed on both ſides a great number of brave men, and perſons of diſtinction.

This cruel battle laſted near eight hours, reckoning from the time that the two armies met. The number of the ſlain on the ſide of the *French* is exaggerated by the *Spaniards*, and that of the *Spaniards* by the *French*. Thoſe which ſeem to me to ſpeak the moſt ſincerely and diſintereſtedly, as *Guicciardin*, ſay, that there periſhed 10000 men, of whom two thirds were *Spaniards*, and the reſt allies. *Lautrec* received twenty wounds in defending the duke *de*

A. D. 1512. *Nemours*, and was left for dead upon the spot; but he recovered. The *French* took many prisoners, among whom were several persons of distinction.

Peter Navarre, notwithstanding he was defeated, and taken prisoner, acquired much glory in this engagement; and there is a great deal of reason to believe, that if the cavalry had performed their parts as well as the *Spanish* infantry, the *French*, attacking them at so great a disadvantage, would for the most part have perished upon this occasion.

Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

The fruit of this victory was the surrender of *Ravenna*. *Cesena*, *Rimini*, *Imola*, *Forli*, and all the fortresses of *Romagna*, excepting the citadels of *Imola* and *Forli*, open'd their gates to the conquerors; and the cardinal of *S. Severin* took possession of them in the name of the council of *Milan*: But *la Palice*, who had accepted of the command at the desire of the most considerable persons in the army, being unacquainted with the king's intentions, and advertis'd, moreover, by the marshal *de Trivulca*, that the *Swiss* and the king of the *Romans* were both preparing to enter the *Milaneze*, did not think it proper for him to go any farther, and return'd to *Milan* with the greatest part of his forces.

The news of the battle at *Ravenna* being brought to the courts of *Europe*, made very different impressions upon the minds of the courtiers. The king could not rejoice at it, because of the loss of the general, and so many persons of quality that perished in it. The king of *Spain* imposed upon his people, by publishing false accounts of the matter: But the haste he was in to raise a fresh force, was a plain indication of his uneasiness.

The alarm was yet more warm at *Venice*, where the ambassador of the king of the *Romans* had no small difficulty to recover the republick from their fright, and to procure a suspension of the resolution, which several of the senators had taken to make up matters immediately, at any price, with *France*. The king of the *Romans* was under no less a consternation: But the *Spanish* ambassador comforted him, by representing that the *French*, notwithstanding their victory, were in no condition for any enterprize, considering the great number of enemies they had to struggle

ſtruggle with, in caſe the confederates did not loſe their courage. *A. D.* 1512.

After all, the victory of *Ravenna* no where ſpread more terror than at *Rome:* The cardinals ran to the pope to conjure him not to defer making a peace with *France*. The pope, preſs'd on the one hand with fear, and on the other with indignation, and his irreconcileable hatred to the king, anſwer'd ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another: But as ſoon as he was appriz'd that *la Palice*, having left the cardinal of *S. Severin* in *Romagna*, with only 6000 infantry, and 300 gendarmes, was march'd with the reſt of the army for *Milan*, he recovered his courage, declared that he would not depart from the league, raiſed new forces, and open'd the council of *Lateran* in the beginning of *May*, with all the ſolemnities that uſed to be obſerved upon the opening of general councils.

He was tranſported with joy at the arrival of the cardinal archbiſhop of *York* at *Rome*, with full power to ſign the league in the name of the king of *England*. At the ſame time he received the news that the king of *Spain* was reſolved to make his utmoſt efforts upon the occaſion, and to ſend the *Grand Captain* into *Italy*, and that he hoped to awaken the irreſolution of the king of the *Romans*. In a word, he was informed, that the king, to ſecure his frontiers from the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, had ſent orders to *la Palice* to cauſe the greateſt part of his gendarmery to repaſs the *Alps:* So that this general, who was alſo deſerted by the *German* forces, in purſuance of the orders they had long ſince received from the king of the *Romans*, had not above 10000 infantry and 1300 horſe left, at a time when the whole force of the kingdom would not have been too much to ſuſtain the ſhock that was preparing for him.

The motions of the *Swiſs* were the firſt cauſe of his uneaſineſs. The cardinal *de Sion* had, in their laſt diet, enraged them againſt *France*: They took the field, contrary to their cuſtom, without having received any other pay from the confederates than each man a *Florin du Rhin*; and inſtead of 6000, which the pope demanded, there were 18000 upon the march, ſolely in hopes of revenging themſelves

A. D. 1512. of the *French*, by driving them out of the *Milaneze*; and to prevent their being ſtopp'd at the opening of the mountains as formerly, they marched a great way about by the *Griſons*, and arrived in the *Trentin*.

La Palice ſeeing himſelf upon the point of being cruſh'd by forces ſo much ſuperior to his own, recalled all the regiments that he had left in *Romagna* under command of the cardinal of *S. Severin*, which were no ſooner gone, than all the towns which had been taken before and after the battle of *Ravenna*, return'd to their obedience to the pope. The *Swiſs* had made ſome progreſs in the *Veroneſe*, where they were to join the confederates, in order to enter the territories of *Ferrara*; but intercepting a letter of *la Palice*'s, they alter'd their deſign. This letter was written to the treaſurer of the army at *Milan*, to acquaint him with the confuſion he was in, and that, if the enemy turn'd their courſe to the *Milaneze*, he look'd upon himſelf as gone.

There needed no farther motive to perſuade them to take this road. They marched to *Vallegio*, which *la Palice* abandoned, and made ſeveral poſts, in proportion as the confederates advanced. They ſeized *Cremona* alſo, where the citizens were ſtronger than the garriſon; and as ſoon as they were enter'd the *Milaneze*, a general revolt followed in the plain country, and all the towns, where the garriſons were not numerous enough to reſtrain the inhabitants.

The marſhal *de Trivulca* being no longer ſafe at *Milan*, furniſhed the caſtle with men and proviſions, and ſet out for *Piemont* with ſeveral lords, and with the cardinals and biſhops of the council.

It was thought proper alſo to abandon *Pavia*, the caſtle of which the enemy were already battering. The retreat from this place was not without danger: Several ſoldiers were killed, and *Bayard* was wounded with the ſhot of a fauconeau between the neck and ſhoulders. The troops diminiſhed in proportion as they retired; however they march'd more unmoleſted from *Pavia* to *Alexandria*, which was in like manner abandon'd. In fine, the *French* had nothing left of the whole *Milaneze*, but the caſtles of *Milan*, *Novara*, and *Cremona*, and the towns of *Crema*, *Breſſe*, and *Peſcara*, with ſome fortreſſes of the

the *Valteline*, and upon the confines of the *Swiss*: But those of the *Valteline* surrender'd soon after to the *Grisons*, and *Lucerne* to the *Swiss*. *A. D.* 1512.

Soon after the *Genoese* revolted, and the *French* garrison was forced to take shelter in the castle, and in the fort of *Lanterne*. Most of the towns and fortresses abovementioned surrender'd before the end of the year: But those that were able to hold out, were a good refuge for *France*.

It is easy to imagine what satisfaction the pope conceived upon this success, who saw himself at the point of enjoying the pleasure and glory of having driven the *French* out of *Italy*: But while this revolution was carrying on beyond the *Alps*, another was brought about at the *Pyrenees*, where the king of *Spain* carried his ambition and injustice to an excess, which posterity will never forgive him. I speak of his usurping the kingdom of *Navarre* by force from King *John d'Albret*, which he could never have any reason for doing, and for which his posterity afterwards were fatally revenged, by dividing from the *Roman* church to embrace *Calvin*'s heresy.

Ferdinand had contrived his matters so well, that the king of *Navarre* had only time to get off, in order to fly to *France*, and to send his queen and children to *Bearn*. *Charles* V. *Ferdinand*'s successor, and *Philip* XI. were very scrupulous about this part of the succession; but the restitution of it was prevented for reasons of state, the solidity of which God only must be a judge of.

The king of *Navarre* was well supported by the king of *France*, and made great attempts for the recovery of his states. At first he met with very good success; but being obliged to raise the siege of *Pampeluna*, he soon lost all that he had recovered; and the *English* having obliged the king to carry his arms into *Picardy*, *Ferdinand* remained in possession of *Navarre*. Memoires de Martin du Bellay.

In the mean time the pope laid the kingdom of *France* under an interdict, and especially the city of *Lyons*, where the council of *Pisa* continued to be held, the authority of which the king in vain endeavour'd to establish, and to persuade some other princes to join with him upon that occasion. The king of the *Romans* order'd the bishop of *Gurk* to declare that he Hist. 3. Concil. Lateran. Ibid.

A. D. 1512. adher'd to the council of *Lateran*; that he revoked every thing that he might have done in favour of the council of *Pisa*, and condemned all the resolutions of the *Gallican* church at *Tours* upon that affair.

But the pope and the confederates, after they had driven the *French* out of *Italy*, were very much taken up in promoting each his particular interest at this conjuncture: They cou'd not settle matters to the satisfaction of each other; and *la Palice*, at leaving *Italy*, had order'd the governors of the towns, which still remain'd in the possession of *France*, if they cou'd not preserve them, to surrender them in such a manner, as might foment the jealousy between the most powerful of the allies. These orders were very well executed.

The pope had a mind to deprive the duke of *Ferrara*: But the *Spaniards* oppos'd it. The king of the *Romans* and the king of *Spain* thought of procuring the dutchy of *Milan* for *Charles* prince of *Spain*, or his brother *Ferdinand*: But the *Swiss* and *Venetians* got it restor'd to *Maximilian Sfortius*, as heir to his father *Ludovic*, to whom this dutchy had belong'd.

On the other hand, the *Spaniards* brought about the re-establishment of the house of *Medicis* in *Florence*, with the same authority that their predecessors had there.

Some towns were surrender'd to the confederates, in the manner I have been speaking of, and increased their divisions, the king having nothing more left in this country but the *Lantern* of *Genoa*, and the castles of *Cremona* and *Milan*.

The confederates saw plainly, that their divisions might be of ill consequence, and the king of *France*, who had not yet laid aside his design of reconquering the *Milaneze*, might take advantage of them. For this reason they agreed upon a conference to be held at *Rome* in presence of the pope, where the plenipotentiaries of all sides concerned shou'd appear, to act in concert for the benefit of the publick.

Guicciard. l. 11.

The greatest difficulty was to bring the *Venetians* to an agreement with the king of the *Romans*, who demanded the restitution of the towns which he was to be put in possession of by the treaty of *Cambray*, and particularly insisted upon *Vicenza*.

The

The pope in vain uſed all his art, entreaties, and menaces, to oblige the republick to ſatisfy this prince. And being unable to compaſs his deſire, he declared that he wou'd abandon them, and make a league with the emperor againſt them. And in this he found his account; for one article of the treaty was, that *Parma*, *Placenza*, and *Reggio* ſhou'd be left to the holy ſee, only with this clauſe, *without prejudice to the rights of the emperor*. *A. D.* 1512. Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 512.

This rupture between the pope and the *Venetians* prevented him from falling upon the duke of *Ferrara*, and obliged him to put off that enterprize till the next ſpring: But God permitted him not to trouble the repoſe of *Europe* any longer; him, I ſay, who as common father of the *Chriſtians*, ſhould by all means have endeavour'd to ſettle the peace and tranquillity of it. He was taken ill of a fever, which carried him off on the 21ſt of *February*, *An.* 1513. He was a man born with great talents for governing any other ſtate but that of the church.

He was ſucceeded on the 11th of *March* following by *John*, cardinal *de Medicis*, who was but thirty-ſeven years of age, and took the name of *Leo* X. being placed in the chair of St. *Peter* on the 11th of *April*, the ſame day that he had been taken priſoner at the battle of *Ravenna*.

All *Europe* was in ſuſpence at the creation of the new pope. He had a very different character from that of his predeceſſor, being of a ſweet and peaceable temper, and taking as much pleaſure in converſing with the learned in his ſtudy, as *Julius* II. did in being at the head of an army, and at the ſiege of a town: But *Europe* had till then been in too great a ſtorm, to be calm'd on a ſudden.

The king negotiated privately with the new pope, and ſent him word that he was very much diſpoſed to drop the council of *Piſa*; but without abandoning his deſign of reconquering *Genoa* and the dutchy of *Milan*.

With this view he made great preparations during the winter ſeaſon, and made uſe of all imaginable methods to break the league, by which he had ſuffer'd ſo ſenſibly. He treated with the king of *Spain*, and concluded a truce of one year with him for the Petrus de Angleria, Epiſt. 518.

A. D. 1513. the frontiers of *Spain* and *France*. The two kings found their account in this truce; the king of *Spain* by that means remaining in peaceable possession of *Navarre*, and the king of *France* being not obliged to keep an army in those quarters.

Traite de Blois 23. Mars. The rupture between the late pope and the *Venetians*, whom his successor cou'd not regain, because he insisted, as well as his predecessor, upon too hard conditions for the reconciliation of the republick with the king of the *Romans*, disposed them more easily to unite with the king; and accordingly an offensive and defensive league was concluded at *Blois*, between him and the *Venetians* against the pope and the emperor, and all that shou'd adhere to them. This treaty was brought about by the procurement of the proveditor *André Gritti*, who had been taken at the battle of *Bresse*, and was then prisoner in *France*. The chief article was, that the king shou'd have the *Cremonois* and *Giraddada*, and that the *Venetians* shou'd re-enter into possession of *Bressan* and *Bergamasque*.

But the most important point, and that upon which the king laid the greatest stress, was to persuade the *Swiss* to break with the confederates; which he cou'd not compass. *Lewis de la Tremouille*, whom he sent to *Lucerne*, was insulted there, and received no other answer, but that they wou'd be friends to *France*, provided the king wou'd neither meddle with the pope, nor the duke of *Milan*, whom they had taken under their protection.

Memoires du Bellay l. 1. Notwithstanding the stiffness of the *Swiss*, the king did not desist from his enterprize upon the *Milaneze*. He sent the marshal *de Trivulca* to *Turin*, to set all things in order for the opening the campaign, and to assure the chevalier *de Louvain*, who commanded the castle of *Milan*, and *Janot d'Herbouville* governor of that at *Cremona*, of a speedy succour.

The marshal set forward for the *Milaneze* in the end of *April*, with part of the *French* forces, to wait there for *la Tremouille*, who was to command them, and enter'd into a fresh negotiation with the *Swiss*, but to no purpose.

Guicciard. l. 11. He made a detachment of his forces under the command of the count *de Musocco* his son, who first seized

seized *Ast*, and then *Alexandria*, and afterwards he victualled the castle of *Milan*; upon which the town also declared for the *French*. *A. D.* 1513.

The *Venetians* at the same time entred the *Cremonois*, under the command of *l'Alviane*, whom they had made general of their forces, with the same authority that the count *de Petiliane* had formerly. He seiz'd *Cremona*, by which means *Janot d'Herbouville*, governor of the castle, who was reduced to his last shifts, saw himself out of danger. *Vallegio*, *Pescara*, and the city of *Bresse* surrender'd to this general; and *Soncino*, *Lodi* and some other towns set up the *French* banner upon their towers. The *French* party also at *Genoa* prevail'd again, and the town surrender'd; they victualled the *Lanterne*, and there remain'd only some troops of the revolters in the citadel, called the *Chatelet*. The *French* fleet plunder'd the *Specia*, and anchor'd at *Porto Venere*.

There was only *Coma* and *Novara* remaining to *Maximilian Sfortius*, the new duke of *Milan*. The *Swiss* conducted him to the last of these two places, being resolved to defend it to the last extremity, in hopes of a reinforcement of 10000 men from the *Cantons*.

La Tremouille arriv'd in the interim, with the body of the army, and encamped two miles from *Novara*, with a design to besiege the new duke, in hopes of taking him, as he had taken his father *Ludovic*, and sending him in like manner prisoner to *France*.

The *Swiss* having been join'd by the reinforcement abovemention'd, and seeing the *French* army so near them, form'd a bold resolution of going to attack them in their camp. They sent out their spies, and found that they were without any intrenchment, in a marshy place, very full of ditches, and where the cavalry wou'd be almost useless.

They march'd out of *Novara* on the sixth of *June* at midnight. It was already day, when they came in sight of the camp. Notwithstanding *la Tremouille* had been surprized, he had time to place most of his forces in order of battle. Memoires du Bellay, l. 1.

The first effort fell upon the lansquenets, who were at the head of the camp with twenty-two pieces of artillery. The cannon were well played. Whole files

A. D. 1513. files of the *Swiss* were dispatch'd, but immediately supply'd. The lansquenets kept their ground for two hours, but were born down at last: The *Swiss* seized the artillery, and turned it against the *French* infantry, who made as it were a second line to support the lansquenets. If the *Gendarmery* had been able to advance to take the *Swiss* in the flank, very few of them wou'd have escaped, considering the long resistance of the lansquenets: But it was impossible to march about in a place so full of fens and furrows as that was.

The *French* infantry gave ground in their turn, and *la Tremouille* being wounded in his leg, and seeing no prospect of a remedy, was obliged to retire. The memoirs of the marshal *de Fleuranges*, whose father received forty-six wounds, and yet recovered, say that there were two thousand *German* foot, and some few *French* killed. The *Swiss* lost five hundred men, and among the rest, the general *Mottino*, who had been the author of the enterprize, was killed by a pike that pierced his throat.

Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges.

The remainder after his defeat fled to *Piedmont*, where *la Tremouille* soon heard the news of a fresh revolution of the *Milaneze*, a revolution more speedy than the conquest that had been made of it. The viceroy of *Naples* sent immediately some forces to *Genoa*, upon which that city revolted anew from the king. After this he enter'd the state of *Venice*, and took several towns, and the republick was reduced almost to the same condition, that it had been in formerly, and to which the king had reduced it after the battle of *Aignadel*. That is to say, that it had no possessions left in the continent, excepting *Padua* and *Trevisa*, and some towns in the *Frioul*.

The loss, which the *French* sustained at *Novara*, had not been irreparable, if the king had been attack'd only in those parts: But he was at the same time invaded in *Artois* and *Burgundy*, in such a manner as endanger'd his state.

Henry VIII. king of *England*, in consequence of the league concluded with the pope and the other confederates, had made preparations by sea and land. There were two battles fought upon the sea. The commander *Pregent de Bidoux*, a gentleman of *Guyenne*,

enne, who commanded four galleys in the ocean, was attack'd near *Breſt*, by *Havart* admiral of *England*, who had ſeveral ſail. He defended himſelf with great courage, and obliged the *Engliſh* to retire. He went afterwards to make a deſcent upon *England*, and plunder'd a borough upon the ſea-ſhore, where he loſt an eye by an arrow-ſhot, and was purſued by five *Engliſh* ſhips as far as the neck of *Breſt*, where he defended himſelf, and obliged the *Engliſh* to bear off. *A. D.* 1513. Memoires du Bellay. l. 1. Le Feron.

The other battle was fought off *S. Mahi* in *Brittany*, between the *Engliſh* fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail, and that of *France*, of but half the number, commanded partly by *Britons*, and partly by *Norman* officers. Theſe latter had the advantage of the wind to ſupply their want of number. *Primauguet**, a *Briton* officer, embarked in the *Cordelier*, a firſt rate veſſel of *France*, which carried 1200 ſoldiers. He was ſurrounded by twelve ſail of *Engliſh*, among which was the admiral call'd the queen of *England*. *Primauguet* fought with much valour and conduct, ſunk ſome ſhips belonging to the enemy, and the reſt beginning to make off, he reſolved to purſue the admiral, and followed him very cloſe, when an *Engliſh* captain, to whom he had given a broad-ſide, diſcharged a great quantity of fire-works upon the *Cordelier*, and ſet fire to it in ſuch a manner, that it cou'd not be extinguiſhed. *Primauguet* was reſolved not to periſh alone, but overtaking the *Engliſh* admiral, grappled it without ever letting go his hold, till the fire was communicated to it; and thus after the two ſhips had fallen foul upon one another in a very cruel manner, they both blew up into the air.

* *The new Hiſtory of* Brittany *ſays, that there is no ſuch name to be met with in this province; that in all likelihood it is a corruption, and inſtead of* Primauguet, *ſhou'd perhaps be read* Poiſmoguet.

After this fatal accident, the two fleets ſeparated as it were by concert. The action redounded greatly to the glory of the *French*, and the *Engliſh* loſt ſome ſail in it: But they had their revenge by land.

The king of *England* was landed at *Calais* with an army of 30000 men, and having been join'd by the king of the *Romans*, and a large body of *Swiſs*, he appeared at the head of 50000 men, with whom he went to lay ſiege to *Terouane*. *Teligni Seneſchal* of *Rovergue*, and *Anthony de Crequi*, lord of *Pont de Remi*, commanded there. They defended themſelves with remarkable vigour and courage: But after a month's Polydore Virgil. l. 27. Belcar. l. 14.

A. D. 1513. month's siege, their provisions and ammunition began to fail.

Imbaud de Fonterailles was order'd to carry a convoy thither, who acquitted himself of his commission with great management, valour, and success. This action gain'd him much honour: But immediately after happen'd another much to the disgrace of the gendarmery, who suffer'd themselves to be surpriz'd at *Guinegaste* by a body of 12000 *English* and 5000 lansquenets, who pour'd in upon them before they had the least notice of their approach.

Hist. du chevalier Bayard. c. 57.

Being warm weather, most of the gendarmes had dismounted, and taken off their head-pieces. The duke of *Longueville* and *la Palice* with great difficulty got a small number of them together. The rest fled with all speed. These two lords kept their ground a long time. *La Palice* was taken, but made his escape. *Bussi* of *Amboise*, *Clermont*, and *Imbercourt*, were also made prisoners.

The chevalier *Bayard* being closely pursued, turned head from time to time with fifteen men of arms, which he had drawn together: And fighting as he retreated, gain'd a bridge over which two troopers only cou'd pass a breast. He stopp'd there, and sent an archer after the gendarmery, who he thought were rallied, to acquaint the heads of them, that he was master of a post, where he cou'd hold out half an hour, and that if they wou'd return, he shou'd infallibly beat the enemies, who were in great disorder: But he might stay long enough, the cowards made no halt, nor reassembled themselves together, till they came to the camp of *Blangis*.

Bayard repulsed some cavalry of *Burgundy* and *Hainault*. The commander was not much concerned to force him, but sent for some *English* archers to pass the river, and come behind upon this little knot of gendarmes. *Bayard* then addressed himself to his soldiers, and told them, that it was time to ask quarter, and each of them look'd out eagerly for the enemy, to surrender to them.

Bayard saw at a distance a gendarme belonging to the enemy, well equipped, who without giving himself any great trouble to share in the glory of taking prisoners, had placed himself at the foot of a tree to rest

rest himself, and had laid aside his head-piece. He rides directly up to him, dismounts, and clapping his sword to his throat, Surrender your self, cavalier, says he, or you are a dead man. *A. D.* 1513.

The gentleman was greatly surprized, and surrendered without resistance. Well, says the chevalier, I am captain *Bayard*, and I surrender my self also up into your hands: Here's my sword, but upon condition that you will restore it me, if in going to your camp we meet with any *English*, that wou'd insult me.

The king of the *Romans* was in raptures to see the chevalier *Bayard* again, and caressed him very much. Five or six days after, *Bayard* said to the gendarme: Sir, I am weary of being here, do me the favour to procure me the liberty of returning to the *French* camp. Where's your ransome, answers the gendarme; and where's yours? replies *Bayard*; for I have made you my prisoner.

The adventure was so extraordinary, that the kings at arms had no rule for, nor foresight of the case, and it was agreed to refer it to the emperor and the king of *England*, who decided in favour of *Bayard*, and he was allowed some time after to return to the *French* army.

Such was the battle or defeat of *Guinegaste*, which happen'd in *August*, and was called the battle of the *Spurrs*, because the *French* gendarmes made much more use of them than of their swords.

As the king durst not hazard a battle, he let *Terouanne* be lost, and sent *Crequi* and *Teligni* leave to capitulate whenever they shou'd think proper, which leave they made use of for want of provisions, after nine weeks siege, and surrender'd upon honourable terms. Memoires du Bellay. l. 1.

The king's chief reason for not making his utmost efforts to save *Terouanne*, was the irruption of the *Swiss* into the dutchy of *Burgundy*, where they enter'd to the number of 25000, with 2000 horse belonging to the king of the *Romans*, in the beginning of *September*, and came to sit down before *Dijon*, which having but poor walls, owed its preservation to nothing but the resolution and prudence of *Lewis de la Tremouille*. He was governor of *Burgundy*, and

A. D. 1513. and had repaired to this place for the defence of it.

He held out for some time, and plainly foreseeing that he should be forced, he made use of some *Swiss* officers, whom he had taken, and treated well, to begin a negotiation. Besides the money he gave, and promised to give them, he agreed to all that they demanded: He knew that what he did wou'd be disavowed; but he performed a very necessary piece of service to the state.

Memoires du Bellay. l. 1. Accordingly the king fail'd not to express his displeasure against *la Tremouille* upon the occasion, and refused to confirm the treaty, as containing conditions unworthy such a prince as himself. He had no reason to fear the *Swiss* re-entering *Burgundy*, as the winter was coming on; and he hoped, during that time, to provide for the security of his frontiers.

The king of *England* and the king of the *Romans*, after the taking of *Terouanne*, came and laid siege to *Tournay*; the inhabitants of which were closely attach'd to *France*, but being intimidated durst scarce make any resistance. After this conquest, the two princes hearing of the retreat of the *Swiss*, retired also themselves, the one into *Germany*, and the other into *England*. The king thought himself very happy, that they had not taken up their quarters in *Picardy*, as they might have hoped to do, if instead of besieging *Tournay*, they had taken some towns in this province.

The king's allies were not more successful. The *Venetians* were beaten by the *Spaniards* at *Creatia* near *Vicenza*. *James* IV. king of *Scotland* having entered *England* with an army to cause a diversion in favour of *France*, was beaten by the duke of *Norfolk*, and perished himself in the battle.

So many unfortunate accidents, which fell out this year 1513, were followed by another, which was no less afflictive to the king, I mean, the death of queen *Anne* of *Brittany*. She was a princess of great merit, and whom her king always loved and honoured. But her death, how afflictive soever it was to his majesty, gave him an opportunity of removing his difficulties, by diminishing the number of his enemies, and bringing the king of *England* off from the league.

The

The king of *England* had a great affection for *Mary* his sister. One article of the treaty of alliance which *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* had made with him, was, that this princess should espouse *Charles* prince of *Spain*. The king of *France*, with great policy, caused a proposal to be made to *Ferdinand*, to marry *Renée* his second daughter to *Charles*, or *Ferdinand*, that prince's younger brother, upon condition of giving him his right to the *Milaneze* and *Genoa* for a portion. This touch'd the king of *Spain* and the king of the *Romans* in a sensible place, who had always had that dutchy in their view for *Charles*, and continued the war upon that motive alone, and the design of driving the *French* out of *Italy*. The negotiation was already far advanced, when the king of *England* had notice of it. *Astil* his ambassador in *Spain* made great complaints upon the occasion, and the king of *England* inveighed publickly at every turn against the king of *Spain*, his father-in-law, who after he had engaged him in a troublesome war, broke his word with him upon a point of this importance, and treated with their common enemy without his knowledge. *A. D.* 1513. Petrus de Angleria. Ep. 146. Belcar. l. 8.

Monsieur *de Longueville*, who had been taken at the battle of *Spurs*, was then prisoner in *England*, with full liberty upon his parole, and went often to court. He thought himself able to make an advantage of *Henry*'s disposition for the benefit of *France*; and at a conference he had with him, he told him, that there was one way to make amends to the princess his sister; that a king of *France*, such as *Lewis* XII. in actual possession of the crown, was much to be preferr'd to a king of *Spain*, who perhaps wou'd not be long upon the throne; that the king was a widower, not above fifty-three or fifty-four years of age, and being passionately desirous of a son to succeed him, he was persuaded, he wou'd not be very averse to a second marriage, and that this choice wou'd be extremely suitable to the princess *Mary*.

The king of *England*, who found his advantage in this alliance, with regard to his sister, and reap'd the pleasure of revenging himself of the king of *Spain*, did not reject the proposal. Monsieur *de Longueville* sent the king notice of it, who was well pleased with the step that he had taken, and commission'd Journal de Louise de Savoye. Memoires de Fleuranges.

A. D. 1514. him to pursue the negotiation. The treaty was concluded, and a suspension of arms immediately followed. The princess *Mary* of *England* went to *France*, and the marriage was solemniz'd at *Abbeville* on the ninth of *October*. The peace between *France* and *England* abated the heat of the war every where: But the *French* garrison, which had been kept till then in the *Lantern* of *Genoa*, was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. And the *Genoese* levell'd the fortress with the ground.

The king, however, who in the treaty with *England* had reserved to himself the power of continuing the war in *Italy*, in order to reconquer the *Milaneze* and *Genoa*, made great preparations: But death surpriz'd him before the execution of his designs. He had been for several years tormented with the gout, which had very much weaken'd him. He was taken ill of a fever, attended with a dysentery, caused, as was imagined, by his inability to moderate his love for his new spouse, who was one of the finest princesses in *Europe*. He died at *Paris* in the palace of the *Tournelles*, the first night of the year 1515. in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

Brantome, eloges de Louis XII. Journal de Louise de Savoye. Hist. Mr. de Humbert Velai parmi les Memoires de Bethune. vol. cotte. 8461.

It is a singular commendation of this prince, that the sovereign power, as I have observed in the beginning of this history, far from corrupting his natural good qualities, had removed the defects with which they were mixed during the warmth of his youth. History speaks of him as a prince the best qualified for a kingdom that ever govern'd, for valour, prudence, application, and judgment. For the tender regard he had to his subjects, he merited the title of father of his people; a character of which he was very sensible, and only concern'd to support it with honour.

Besides his other virtues, he had piety. He was a politick prince, but withal a generous and christian governor, an enemy to false and perfidious dealing, notwithstanding the bad examples of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* and *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, who were several times his allies, but at the bottom his mortal enemies. In a word, there are few princes to be met with in history, that have equall'd him in royal virtues, or have sat upon the throne with less faults

THE

THE HISTORY OF *FRANCE.*

Francis I.

A. D. 1515.

FRANCIS, count of *Angouleme*, and duke of *Valois*, aſcended the throne in *January*, 1515. in the twenty firſt year of his age. He was the firſt prince of the blood, and ſecond couſin to the late king. He was a prince full of fire and courage, mighty well made, liberal, provident, and, with all theſe fine qualities, equally agreeable both to the courtiers and the military men.

The offices of chancellor and conſtable, both vacant, were immediately diſpos'd of; the firſt to *Anthony du Prat*, firſt preſident of the parliament of *Paris*, and the ſecond to *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*. *La Palice* was honour'd with the ſtaff of marſhal of *France*, and gave up his place of high-ſteward to *Goufier de Boiſi*, who had been the king's governor. This lord, with *Robertet*, who had been ſecretary of ſtate in the preceding reign, were very much concerned in the government. *Anne* of *Montmerenci*, and *Philip Chabot*, two young lords who had been brought up with the king, had from that time a great

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1.

A. D. 1515. share of favour. Queen *Clauda*, the king's spouse, heiress to the dutchy of *Brittany*, made a cession of that dutchy to him, in case he surviv'd her, even without having any children by her.

Act of the Donation of Brittany, dated the 28th of June, 1515.

Considering the character of the new king, it was very probable that he would not lay aside the preparations already made by his predecessor for the conquest of the *Milaneze*. This was his intention in reality; but he took care to hide it, and so well, that the princes of *Italy* being persuaded that in the beginning of a reign there were many other affairs of importance which would employ him, thought he would not go upon any enterprize all that year.

He seem'd, indeed, at first to think of nothing but securing the tranquillity of his dominions, by renewing the antient treaties with the allies of *France*, and endeavouring to regain the princes it had had for its enemies. He succeeded with regard to *Henry* VIII. king of *England*. *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, sent nothing but compliments in answer to the letter he wrote him to give him notice of his accession to the crown. *Charles*, prince of *Spain*, by the advice of monsieur *de Chievres*, who had the care of his education, promis'd him to observe the peace exactly. The republick of *Venice* confirm'd the treaty which they had concluded with the king's predecessor, by which they were reciprocally oblig'd, the *Venetians* to assist him in the conquest of the *Milaneze*, and he to help them in the getting of *Bresse*, *Verona*, and some other places of the seigniory, of which the emperor had made himself master: But the king could never compass his end with the *Swiss*, who persevered in their implacable hatred against *France*, and refused to receive his ambassador, being resolutely determin'd to support *Maximilian Sforce*, the new duke of *Milan*, of whom they had declared themselves protectors.

Petrus de Angleria, epist. 543.

Petrus de Angleria, epist. 545.

This was the greatest obstacle that the king could meet with in the execution of the design he was upon: But it was followed by another, which was this; Pope *Leo* X. after having amus'd him some time, enter'd into the league with the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the *Swiss*, for the defence of the *Milaneze*.

But

But on the other hand, the king gain'd *Octavian Fregoſa*, doge of *Genoa*, to his ſide, by the great advantages he offer'd him; and this lord managed ſo well with the chief of the nobility and people of that city, that they put themſelves again under the king's obedience, as they had been for a long time in the reign of his predeceſſors, and declar'd openly for *France* to all, and againſt all. A. D. 1515.

This declaration of the *Genoeſe* left the king no doubt whether he ſhould croſs the *Alps* this year; and the *Swiſs*, that none might be beforehand with them, enter'd *Piedmont* with an army, and without taking any notice of the duke of *Savoy*, ſeiz'd upon *Briqueras*, *Pignerol*, *Suza*, and *Salucca*, and the other paſſes over the *Alps*, by which the *French* armies had hitherto penetrated into *Italy*. Guichenon, Hiſt. of Savoy.

This ſudden invaſion of the *Swiſs* embarraſs'd the king, who foreſaw great difficulties in forcing the paſſes. However, he advanc'd as far as *Lyons* with the greateſt part of his army: There he declar'd *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, his mother, regent of the kingdom; and while he waited for an anſwer from the duke of *Savoy*, of whom he had deſired ſome guides who knew the way over the mountains perfectly well, he conſider'd upon the road he was to take.

It was difficult for him to determine; for all the paſſes were very well guarded; but in the mean while there came from the duke of *Savoy Charles* of *Soliers*, lord of *Moret*, who, by the help of a peaſant, had diſcover'd a new way, though in truth a very difficult one; but which they might hope to get through by the help of the pioneers. It was by the valley of *Barcelonetta*, by *Roqueſparvieres*, by *St. Paul*, by *Argentier*; from whence they might go to *Salucca*. They went to examine it, and it was reſolv'd that they ſhould march that way.

They made ſome cavalry advance upon the mountains of *Genievre* and *Cenis*, to amuſe the *Swiſs*, and keep them continually in expectation of being joined; and in the mean time the conſtable went from *Ambrun* with the vanguard, and a great number of pioneers. He clear'd the way for the reſt with infinite pains and trouble. He was forc'd to break off the corners of rocks, to enlarge the

A. D. 1515. ways, make bridges, and raise the artillery with machines.

Journal of Savoy. All this, however, was done with so much speed, that the vanguard came in five days to the *Sture*, in a plain two leagues from *Cony*, while the enemy, who never thought an army could pass that way, had no advice of their march; and this occasion'd the first important action of this campaign.

The chevalier *Bayard* being advanc'd, had advice that *Prosper Colonne* was at *Villafranca*; from whence he was to go immediately to assist at a council of war at *Pignerol*. He surprized him in that little place, took him prisoner; and of near a thousand horse that *Colonne* had with him: He sav'd but two *Albanians*. All were either kill'd or taken. The booty was rich; They took between six and seven hundred horses. *Colonne* lost, for his own share, in vessels of silver and gold, and in coin'd money, above an hundred and fifty thousand crowns: But he was not so much vex'd at the loss of that, as his reputation; for till that time he had pass'd for one of the most prudent and most careful generals of *Italy*.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1.

Memoirs of the marshal of Fleuranges. This first success had a great effect. The *Swiss* left their posts; and being all rendezvous'd, they went into the dutchy of *Milan*, having the cardinal of *Sion* at their head. The king came, with the rest of his army, into the plain of *Quieras*. He immediately took the road to the *Milaneze*. The inhabitants of *Novara* came out to meet him, and presented him with the keys of their town, and the castle surrender'd soon after. He found there a great deal of artillery which his predecessors had lost in *Italy*, and made the marshal of *Chabannes* governor of the place.

This passage of the king strangely disconcerted the allies. *Raymond* of *Cardona*, viceroy of *Naples*, having got some letters of the pope's, by which he knew he resolv'd upon coming to terms with the king of *France*, made use of several pretences to excuse himself from joining the *Swiss* in the *Milaneze*. The duke of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivoglio*'s seeing the *French* army in *Italy*, began to stir in the king's favour. *Aymar* of *Prie*, who had been sent by sea with a body of troops to *Genoa*, and who was join'd

Jovius, l. 3. vitæ Leonis X.

by

by four thousand *Genoese*, had seiz'd upon *Alexandria*, *Tortona*, and some other places, which made them masters of all the country on this side the *Po*. *Laurentius de Medicis*, who commanded the pope's troops, had orders to dally, and not go too far; so that the defence of the *Milaneze* was cast entirely upon the *Swiss*. A. D. 1515. Guicciard. l. 1.

But even these were very much frighted, as well at the behaviour of the pope and the *Spaniards*, as because they did not receive the money which had been promis'd them by the king of *Spain*. They were brought to that pass, that the duke of *Savoy* having offer'd them his mediation, they accepted of it; and upon procuring a large sum of money, a pension, and some advantages for *Maximilian Sforce*, who, tho' he was more concerned in this war than any one else, yet was taken up with his pleasures in a castle whither he had retir'd, they promis'd to put the dutchy of *Milan* into the king's hands. This prince depended so much upon it, that he immediately took the road for *Milan*, that he might get thither the next day, and take possession of the city and castle; but he wanted a great deal of being where he thought he was.

The cardinal of *Sion*, whose hatred and intrigues against *France* had raised him, and made his fortune under the last pontificate, and had given him the great esteem he was in at the court of *Spain*, that of the emperor, and among the cantons, was not discouraged. He was so diligent and indefatigable, by his discourses and letters, with the principal officers of the *Swiss*, that he not only made them change their resolution, but likewise persuaded them to endeavour to seize the convoy of money which was carrying to *Bufalora*; and to go, at the same time, and attack the *French* army, who, depending upon the conclusion of the peace, would not be upon its guard, and consequently out of a condition of resisting.

This piece of treachery, so different from the general character of the *Swiss*, did not much redound to their honour, and the vigilance of Mr. *de Lautrec*, who had the care of the convoy, prevented its success. His spies inform'd him of the whole matter.

A. D. 1515. He turned back, retreated a round-about way to *Galeras*, where the treaty was made, and advis'd the king to keep upon his guard.

The *Swiss* knowing that their design was discover'd, did not hasten the execution of it. They seemed even to give over all thoughts of coming to a battle, by the tameness with which they suffer'd parties of the *French* army to come and insult them even at the gates of *Milan*. The very day that they resolved to come and attack the king's camp, Mr. *de la Tremouille*, and the high steward *Boisi*, advanc'd as far as the suburbs with some squadrons, and ten troopers enter'd into a street, where they killed nine or ten men, and retir'd without being pursued.

But the king was not taken in this snare; for he remember'd the defeat of the *French* army at *Novara*, in the preceding reign, which was a case pretty much like this. He ordered all the officers to keep their soldiers upon their posts, and the gendarmery to be ready to mount in case of an alarm.

Memoirs of Fleuranges. This wise precaution was not unserviceable; for his scouts inform'd him at one of the clock in the afternoon, that the *Swiss* were come out of *Milan*, and were putting themselves in order of battle, to march and attack his camp. He immediately sent away *Bartholomew Alviano*, the general of the *Venetian* army, who was come to wait upon him, and desir'd him to lose no time in bringing his army to him, which was then encamped at *Lodi*. The king's camp was at *St. Julian* and *St. Donato*, a little way from the small town of *Marignan*, which gave name to the battle.

The vanguard, which now would be called the first line, commanded by the constable, was covered with a ditch; and the artillery, consisting of seventy two pieces, guarded by the lansquenets. The king was in the first rank of the second line; and the third was commanded by the duke of *Alenzon*.

The army of the *Swiss* was between five and six and thirty thousand men, all infantry, and inferior in number to that of the *French*. Their design was to break through the lansquenets, and make themselves masters of the artillery, as they had done at the battle

tle of *Novara*, where their taking of the artillery was the occasion of their getting the victory. *A. D.* 1515.

As soon as they were within shot, they fir'd their cannon very briskly upon them, which they sustain'd with a great deal of resolution. The constable order'd a party of the lansquenets to cross the ditch, and attack the foremost battalions of the *Swiss*. The latter halted, let the lansquenets come up, and then charged them with so much fury, that they broke them at the first onset, and put them to flight. They follow'd them, pass'd the ditch with them, and having made the rest of the lansquenets give way, and even part of the gendarmery, who had flank'd them, made themselves masters of four pieces of cannon, which stood the foremost, and which they might have taken if they had not gain'd the ditch. *The king's letter to the queen regent.*

This first disadvantage put the first line into great confusion. As soon as the king was inform'd of it, he left the command of the main body to the high steward, and the lord of *Châtillon*, and went off with a detachment of what they call'd the *Black Bands*. These were four or five thousand other lansquenets, who had gain'd the reputation of being invincible in the wars of the preceding reign, and were commanded by *Robert* of *la Mark*, and *Fleuranges* his son.

He found the constable using all his endeavours in vain to stop the lansquenets. The presence of the prince, and the *Black Bands* encouraged them a little: They rallied, whilst the king on foot, with a pike in his hand, march'd against the *Swiss* with such intrepidity, as inspir'd those that followed him with a resolution to conquer, or die. He charg'd the *Swiss* before him, who were about eight thousand in number, and beat them back; and the constable falling upon them at the same time, with part of the gendarmery, they were obliged to repass the ditch, and leave the four pieces of cannon which they had taken.

But they soon made new efforts to recover their first advantage. The fight became more furious than ever: They mix'd together, and in such a manner, that the two armies could scarce distinguish the enemy from their own soldiers, upon the account of the dust,

A. D. 1515. duſt. The battle continued with a great deal of diſorder on both ſides, till night put a ſtop to it.

The king receiv'd ſeveral blows of pikes and halberds upon his armour, the good temper of which ſav'd his life. *Francis* of *Bourbon*, duke of *Châtel-Raut*, the conſtable's brother, and the count of *Sancere*, were kill'd.

The *French* and *Swiſs* were ſo mingled together, that it was equally dangerous for either to ſtay in the place where they were, or to go to another. The king himſelf was in this danger, and the next day it was diſcover'd that he had paſſed the night but fifty paces from a battalion of *Swiſs*. This prince had his trumpet ſounded before day, which the officers of the army diſtinguiſh'd by the ſound; and the duke of *Vendôme* and *Fleuranges* brought him four thouſand lanſquenets, whom they had rallied.

The conſtable ſpent the night in getting the troops together again, and giving orders every where againſt the next day, foreſeeing very well that the battle would begin again: And ſo it happen'd; for the *Swiſs* renewed the attack with the ſame fury as the day before. The *French* cannon made a terrible havock in the enemy's battalions; but the vacancies were immediately fill'd up, and the foremoſt battalions came up always in cloſe order to fall again upon the lanſquenets.

Theſe were beat back at firſt; but being well ſupported by the gendarmery, they did their duty better than they had done the day before, and recovered the ground they had loſt. The battle was fought for ſeveral hours with ſurprizing obſtinacy.

About nine of the clock in the morning the *Swiſs* generals detach'd a large body of the rear of their army, to go, by the help of a valley, and fall upon the hindpart of the king's camp where the baggage was; but the duke of *Alenzon* having receiv'd advice of it, he march'd and met this detachment, and cut it in pieces.

The news of this defeat made the *Swiſs* loſe their courage. They began to retreat towards *Milan*, except two troops which were cut off; one of fifteen hundred men, who finding they were cloſely purſued, threw themſelves into the houſes of a village. They were

were ſummon'd to ſurrender; and, upon their refuſal, fire was ſet to the houſes, and they were almoſt all burnt, or kill'd as they endeavour'd to ſave themſelves, by the ſoldiers who ſurrounded them. The other troop, which conſiſted of three thouſand, was met by *Alviano*, who came up at the end of the battle. They were moſt of them put to the ſword, or drown'd in the river *Lambro*, into which they were driven by the *Albanian* cavalry. *A. D.* 1515.

The king ſeeing the victory ſecure, would not let his army purſue thoſe who retreated into *Milan*, either to ſpare his troops, who could not have attack'd deſperado's without loſs, who march'd in good order, or elſe to ſhew them that he ſtill had a kindneſs for their nation.

Thus ended this bloody battle, which was fought upon the third and fourth of *September*. Fifteen thouſand *Swiſs*, with their beſt captains, were kill'd, according to our hiſtorians: Some ſay they were but ten thouſand. The number of the ſlain on the ſide of the *French* is likewiſe differently related: Some make it amount to ſix thouſand, ſome to three, and others but to two. The prince of *Talmont*, only ſon to Mr. *de la Tremouille*, the lords of *Buſſi*, *Amboiſe*, and *Roye*, were killed in the ſecond fight. The count of *Guiſe* was drawn from under an heap of dead bodies all over wounded, but he recover'd. There were a great many lords and gentlemen wounded. The marſhal of *Trivulca*, and the oldeſt captains ſaid, that of all the actions they had ever been in, they had never ſeen one hotter, and fought with ſo much obſtinacy.

The cardinal of *Sion* retreated to *Milan*; but he durſt not ſtay there, for fear of the fury of the *Swiſs*, whom he had engaged in ſo fatal an enterprize. He fled into *Germany* to the emperor, and promiſed *Maximilian Sforce*, before he went away, that he would bring him conſiderable aſſiſtance in a ſhort time.

The *Swiſs* being come to *Milan*, conſulted among themſelves what they ſhould do; and concluded, at laſt, to return into their own country; for they were apprehenſive of being hemm'd in by the *French*. They only left duke *Maximilian* four thouſand men to defend *Memoirs of Bellay*, l. 1.

A. D. 1515.

fend him in the caſtle, which they foreſaw the king would be ſure to beſiege.

As ſoon as the king knew of the departure of the *Swiſs*, whom he would not purſue, he ſet out for *Milan*. The citizens met him, and preſented him with the keys of the city, which he receiv'd, but did not go into it. He gave orders for the ſiege of the caſtle, and left it to the care of *Peter Navarre*, who had greatly contributed to the victory of *Marignan*. This brave officer enter'd into the *French* ſervice, and left the *Spaniards*, becauſe after he was taken at the battle of *Ravenna*, they let him lie a long time in priſon, for want of paying his ranſom. The king went towards *Pavia*, which open'd its gates to him, and ſent ſeveral detachments to the other fortified places in the dutchy of *Milan*, all which ſurrender'd, except the caſtle of *Cremona*, which Mr. *de Fleuranges* block'd up.

Journal du moine ſans froc. *Journal of Louiſa of Savoy.*

Navarre puſh'd the ſiege of the caſtle of *Milan* with vigour, and was dangerouſly wounded, but forc'd the garriſon to capitulate. Duke *Maximilian* treated with the king, and ſurrender'd himſelf upon condition to receive a penſion of ſixty thouſand ducats. The ſovereign power was a plague to him, and he had no inclination to any thing but pleaſure and eaſe. He met with both in *France*, whither he was carried. And thus, excepting his liberty which he had there, his fate was pretty like that of *Ludovic*, his father, taken at *Novara* in the preceding reign: But their too unreſembling genius's made them behave in a very different manner under their misfortune.

By one of the articles in the capitulation of the caſtle of *Milan*, that of *Cremona* was likewiſe yielded to the king, who, in leſs than a month after the victory of *Marignan*, was maſter of all the *Milaneze*.

He made his entry into the capital on the twenty-third of *October*. And now moſt of the princes of *Italy*, ſome in perſon, others by their ambaſſadors, congratulated him upon a conqueſt, which was a great piece of mortification to ſeveral of them. The *Venetians* obtain'd of him ſix hundred lanciers, and ſeven thouſand lanſquenets, under the command of the baſtard of *Savoy*, and marſhal *Trivulca*, with whom

whom they recover'd some places that had been taken from them by the emperor and the king of *Spain*. The juncture was favourable; for after the battle of *Marignan*, *Raymond* of *Cardona*, viceroy of *Naples*, thought of nothing more but saving his troops, and bringing them to the kingdom of *Naples*, for which he began to be in fear: But he who seem'd to be the most perplex'd of all, was the pope, who being abandon'd by the *Spaniards* and *Swiss*, saw the ecclesiastical state was going to lie at the mercy of the *French*; so that he was forc'd to come to an accommodation with the king whether he would or no. *A. D.* 1515.

He made use of the duke of *Savoy* for this purpose. The duke found the king very well disposed to treat about an accommodation, which was made at *Pavia*. The pope yielded *Parma* and *Placentia* to the king, and this prince granted some advantages to *Julian* and *Laurentius de Medicis*. And it was agreed, that the pope and the king should have an interview together at *Bologna*.

They met accordingly in *December*, with all the marks of friendship and sincerity on both sides; and the king made his compliment of filial obedience with his own mouth. And here began the negotiation about the famous *Concordate*, which was afterwards substituted in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. When the king went to *Milan*, he left chancellor *du Prat* to finish this affair. The concordate was a year afterwards confirmed by a decree of the council of *Lateran*, and the pragmatic sanction abolished in the eleventh session.

During this important negotiation, the king entered upon another, in which he succeeded as well, at least in part. It was to renew the ancient alliances with the *Swiss*: But he could not regain above eight cantons; and the other five refus'd to renew the treaties. However, he thought he had done a great deal, and did not despair of bringing the rest over in time. He was very much oppos'd in this affair by the cardinal of *Sion*, and the intrigues of *Pace* the *English* ambassador. He afterwards return'd over the *Alps*, leaving the constable of *Bourbon* his lieutenant general in the *Milaneze*, and came to *Lyons* in the beginning of *February*.

There

A. D. 1515.

There he heard the news of the death of the king of *Spain*, which remov'd the fears of a diversion on the side of the *Pyrenees*: But he was apprehensive of a much more dangerous one from *Henry* king of *England*.

Thomas Wolsey absolutely govern'd the king of *England* at this time. History represents this minister to us, as one of the most vain, most ambitious, most wicked, and at the same time one of the ablest men of his age. He was of very mean birth; but his genius and management rais'd him to the office and dignity of high chancellor, archbishop of *York*, and afterwards to that of cardinal. He had afterwards the confidence to aspire even to the soveraign pontificate, by the favour of *Charles* V. whose dupe however he was in that affair. *Wolsey* was displeased at the king of *France*, for a refusal he had given him. The business was the bishoprick of *Tournay*, of which this prelate was steward, since it was come under the power of the *English*, during the reign of *Lewis* XII. He would have had *Peter Guillart*, who was bishop of that city, nominated to another bishoprick, that the see being vacant, he might get it for himself. The king for a long time took no notice of his sollicitations, and let him see that he press'd him in vain upon that head. He took his revenge by using all his endeavours to engage the king of *England* to declare war with *France*; but meeting with too much opposition from that prince's council, he took another longer method, but which, in time, might bring him to the point he aim'd at.

He persuaded the king of *England* to engage the emperor to enter *Italy* with an army, promising him, that as soon as he had begun the war in that country, against the king of *France*, he should be well seconded. The emperor did not want to be much press'd upon this point. He did so; and, contrary to his usual custom, took the field early in the year.

He rais'd the siege of *Bresse*, which was vigorously carried on by the bastard of *Savoy*, and *Peter Navarre*, and drove the *French* into the *Milaneze*. There he was join'd by a great number of malecontents and exiles of that country, and made himself master of *Lodi*,

Lodi, and encamp'd at *Lambra*, three quarters of a league from *Milan*. *A. D.* 1515.

The conſtable of *Bourbon*, for want of having a ſufficient number of troops, and through the ſlow march of ſixteen thouſand *Swiſs*, who were coming to him from the eight cantons which the king had regain'd, was oblig'd to keep upon the defenſive. The marſhal of *Lautrec*, who had but a few troops in the field, retir'd continually before the *Imperialiſts*; and the *Venetians*, for the ſame reaſon, were employ'd in taking care of their country.

The ſixteen thouſand *Swiſs* being come up, the conſtable reſolved to go and offer the emperor battle; but the *Swiſs* captains to whom he communicated it, refuſed to march, ſaying, that they were ready to defend *Milan* to the laſt extremity under his command: But that in the treaty made between the king and the eight cantons, it was expreſly ſtipulated, that they ſhould not fight in the field againſt the army of the empire, and much leſs againſt their own nation, of which there were fifteen thouſand men with the emperor.

This anſwer very much diſpleas'd the conſtable, and the marſhal of *Lautrec*, who commanded under him: But the *Swiſs* alledg'd nothing but what was true. Things were in this ſituation, when a few days after captain *Albert* came to them and ſhew'd them the orders he had receiv'd from the cantons, to return with his troops.

The *Swiſs* who were with the emperor receiv'd the ſame orders; and this prince was now more perplex'd than the *French* generals: For beſides, that the *Swiſs* made the half of his army, their behaviour to him was quite different from that of their countrymen to the conſtable. The reaſon of this difference was, that he did not pay them. They came to him, and ſpoke with a great deal of arrogance, and even with menaces. Fear ſeized him, and he call'd to mind the accident of *Ludovic Sforce*, who, in the time of *Lewis* XII. was deliver'd up to the *French* by the *Swiſs* upon a like occaſion. He repaſs'd the *Adda*, without being followed by the *Swiſs*, who paid themſelves with their own hands, by plundering *Lodi*, and return'd to their own country. The *Swiſs* belonging to the *French* army did

A. D. 1515. did the same, except captain *Albert*, who stay'd with three hundred men only.

The *French* and *Venetian* army pursued the emperor closely, and routed some troops of his rear. He regain'd the *Trentin*, abandoning all his conquests, without any other effect of his expedition, but having given a new proof of his want of capacity in the management of his undertakings. Afterwards the *Venetians* and *French* besieg'd *Bresse*; and when the place was taken, after a pretty strong resistance, it was put into the hands of the *Venetians*, according to the treaty which they had made with the king.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1. Guiecciardin. l. 12.

Afterwards the king furnish'd the pope with a large body of cavalry, for the conquest of the dutchy of *Urbino*, to which he had oblig'd himself in the interview at *Bolonia*, notwithstanding the reason he had to be dissatisfied with him, not being ignorant of his alliances with the emperor, and the kings of *Spain* and *England*. The dutchy was taken from *Francis Mary* of *Rovere*, and *Laurentius de Medicis*, the pope's nephew, receiv'd the investiture of it.

A. D. 1516. These are the principal things that pass'd this year in *Italy*. I come now to the other events, which the death of king *Ferdinand* produced: For he was of too much consequence in *Europe*, that his death should be receiv'd with indifference.

His successor appear'd afterwards with yet more lustre upon the theatre of the world. He was *Charles* of *Austria*, heir to the *Spanish* dominions, who took the title of king of *Spain* after the death of *Ferdinand*, tho' *Jane* his mother, by right of whom he was to succeed to the crown of *Castile*, was still alive, but not capable of governing, through her not being right in her senses. But yet this left a difficulty behind it; and several *Spanish* lords were displeas'd at *Charles*'s taking the title of king during the life of that princess.

He was a young prince, then between fifteen and sixteen years of age, of very great hopes, which he perfectly answer'd, and who by his great qualities could not but give uneasiness to the princes who were neighbours to the extensive dominions which he inherited.

This had more relation to *France* than any other state, because *Charles*'s dominions were the frontiers of that

that kingdom, as well on the side of the *Pyrenees*, as on that of *Artois*, *Picardy*, and *Champaign*, without mentioning *Italy*, where if he once became peaceable possessor of the kingdom of *Naples*, he would be much more formidable to the *Milaneze*, than any of his predecessors; for in case of war for the future the same interest would raise against *France* all the forces of *Spain*, the *Netherlands*, and the kingdom of *Naples*. *A. D.* 1516.

The king of *France* was not wanting in making these important reflections, and resolved to make business for the young king on the side of the *Pyrenees*. *John* of *Albret*, whom *Ferdinand* had depriv'd of the kingdom of *Navarre*, march'd with some *French* troops to those parts, to put himself at the head of the *Grandmonts*, who were in motion in his favour: He attack'd *St. John Pied de Port*, took the town, and besieg'd the citadel; but having receiv'd advice of the defeat of the marshal of *Navarre*, the head of the faction of the *Grandmonts*, he rais'd the siege, and lost some troops in his retreat. This was the last effort he made for the reconquering his kingdom: He died two months after, leaving for heir to what he had remaining in *Bern*, and to his right to *Navarre*, his son *Henry*, who was but fourteen years old, and had not much better success than his father.

In the mean time, at the desire of the king of *Spain*, they came to a treaty at *Noyon*, where the peace was renew'd between the two kingdoms; and the emperor, who knew of what importance it was to this young prince his grandson, that the king should have no suspicion of him, resolv'd to make peace himself with *France*. By this peace *Verona* was put into the hands of the marshal of *Lautrec*, who by the king's orders restor'd it to the *Venetians*. So that the republick of *Venice* was now in possession of all their dominion of *Terra-firma*, which had been taken from them by the league of *Cambray*, in the time of *Lewis* XII. It cost them immense sums of money: But they ow'd their liberty and resettlement to their wise conduct in the events of the wars in *Italy*, and compass'd their end at last. The treaty for *Verona* was executed upon the fifteenth of *January*, in the year 1517, and peace was establish'd between the greatest *Memoirs of Bellay. l. 1.* *A. D. 1517.*

A. D. 1517. powers in *Europe*, but there was only a truce between the emperor and the *Venetians*.

What remain'd to finish the confirmation of the peace between *France*, the empire, and *Spain*, having been regulated in another treaty at *Cambray* upon the eleventh of *March*; the king, who saw very well that it would not last long, resolv'd to strengthen himself by new alliances with other states. Two months after the treaty of *Noyon*, he concluded a very important one at *Fribourg*, with the thirteen *Cantons*, the *Grisons*, and all those who were united to the *Helvetic* body. He likewise renew'd his league with the *Venetians*; and they concluded a defensive alliance together, to maintain the tranquillity of *Italy*. And lastly, to bring the pope into his interest, he married to *Laurentius de Medicis Magdalen* of *Bolonia* his cousin, heiress to the house of *Bolonia*, and daughter to the sister of *Francis* of *Bourbon*, duke of *Vendome*. He made also a treaty of alliance with the king of *Denmark*, against the *English* and the *Swedes*; but this was not of much service to him.

Collection of Treaties by Leonard, T. 2.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 2. Collection of Treaties by Leonard. T. 2.

During the course of these negotiations, the king was labouring at another affair, which he had very much at heart, and in the execution of which he foresaw great obstacles. It was to have the concordate publish'd and observ'd in his kingdom, and to prevent the pragmatic sanction's being follow'd for the future, as he had promis'd the pope in the conferences at *Bolonia*. It did meet indeed with strong opposition from the parliament, the university, and the clergy. It was however register'd by authority; but not without protestations from the parliament, who upon some occasions still judg'd according to the pragmatic sanction. At last, in time, the concordate, supported by royal and pontifical authority, prevail'd; and things in that respect were put upon the same bottom that we see them at this day.

In the mean while *Charles* of *Austria* having embark'd at *Middlebourg*, arriv'd safely in *Spain*. His presence settled perfect tranquillity there; and he was crown'd king at *Valladolid* in *February* the year following 1518.

A. D. 1518.

England still kept the king in continual uneasiness. He saw very well he could never be free from it, till he

he had gain'd the prime minister, who about this time was made a cardinal. He succeeded in it by the confidence which he shew'd he plac'd in him. A treaty was made at *London* upon the fourth of *October*, by which *Tournay* was restor'd to the king, he paying the charge of the citadel which had been built by the *English*, and upon condition that he should recal the duke of *Albania* out of *Scotland*, a great enemy to the *English*, and that the young king of *Scotland* should be comprehended in the treaty; all this was to be executed, and the band of this peace was to be the marriage of *Mary* the king of *England*'s daughter, who was but between three and four years old, with *Francis* the *Dauphin*, who was but one and an half. *A. D.* 1518. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 1.

Nothing was impossible to be done with cardinal *Wolsey*'s assistance. The king propos'd to treat about restoring *Calais* to *France*: He engag'd to do it, and entred upon measures to this purpose. The thing had in all likelihood succeeded, if the king of *Spain* had not been advis'd of it by his emissaries, and hindred it by gaining *Wolsey* to his interest. This cardinal, who was always for the best bidder, went over to him. The difference which this change produc'd, was, that the king of *Spain* knew how to fix this minister, and that he afterwards play'd him upon *France* with all possible advantage.

But these two princes, who were equally afraid of each other, were shortly after competitors for that, which must give a vast superiority to him who carried it. This happen'd by the death of the emperor *Maximilian*, who leaving the first place in *Europe* vacant, furnish'd *Francis* king of *France* and *Charles* king of *Spain* with an object worthy of their ambition, who were the only two monarchs that could any way pretend to it.

The emperor's death happen'd at *Lints* upon the nineteenth of *January*, in the year 1519, and the two kings began immediately to form their parties, in order to obtain the imperial crown. They made their design no secret, and did not seem to be the less good friends for it. They continued to shew each other all the usual civilities; and one day when the king was talking upon this subject to the *Spanish* embassador, he told him that he was neither surpriz'd nor *A. D.* 1519. Belcar. l. 16.

A. D. 1519. displeas'd that the king of *Spain* was his rival in this affair; and pleasantly added, that they were courting the same mistress, that the most fortunate would carry her, and that the other must comfort himself as well as he could.

Guicciard. l. 13.

This temper and moderation was a great honour to the two princes. They made strong applications to the pope, who at the bottom was for neither of them. The *Swiss* were of the same mind, and so were the *Venetians:* But in case the election was to be confin'd to the two kings, the *Swiss* lik'd the king of *Spain* best, and the *Venetians* preferr'd the king of *France*, because the house of *Austria* had some pretensions to several cities in their republick, which an emperor of that house would not fail to make the most of. All these powers would have wish'd the election to fall upon a prince of *Germany*; but they could do no more in this affair at the diet of *Francfort*, than sollicit and make remonstrances to the electors; for these were the princes upon whom the whole matter depended.

Memoirs of Bellay, *l.* 1. The admiral *de Bonnivet*, before he appear'd in the quality of *French* ambassador at the diet of *Francfort*, had secretly and in disguise run through the courts of most of the electors, and had been very liberal both of money and promises. Several had promis'd him to be favourable to the king; but notwithstanding the fine words which they gave him for his money, he was sure of none but *Richard* archbishop of *Treves*, and *Joachim* marquess of *Brandenbourg*. He thought he was likewise secure of *Lewis* count *Palatine* and duke of *Bavaria*, and hop'd by his means to get the vote of cardinal *Albert*, archbishop of *Mentz* his brother; but he was mistaken in both.

The king of *Spain* on his side was sure of *Lewis* king of *Bohemia*, his brother-in-law, the elector of *Mentz*, and *Frederick* elector of *Saxony*. *Herman* count of *Weda* archbishop of *Cologn* appear'd neuter, and seem'd resolv'd to declare for him who shou'd have the most suffrages.

Belcarius, l. 16. *Erard* of *la Mark* bishop of *Liege*, a man of a great deal of wit, and very capable of managing an intrigue with dexterity, was the person who underhand serv'd the king of *Spain* the most effectually.

He

He had been always very strongly attach'd to *France*: But being provok'd that *Louisa* of *Savoy*, the king's mother should prefer before him the archbishop of *Bourges*, brother to *Boyer* treasurer of the exchequer, for the cardinal's hat, he had chang'd sides, and was glad of having this opportunity of shewing his resentment. He offer'd to the electors the motives which should exclude the king of *France*, and those which should engage them to prefer the king of *Spain* before him, and urg'd them with a great deal of strength and effect. He confirm'd those electors who were already inclined to the king of *Spain*, and shook some of the others who were favourable to the king of *France*. *A. D.* 1519.

Affairs were in this situation, when the diet was open'd upon the seventeenth of *June*, and the two princes made their postulation. They received handsome but general answers, and the day was appointded for conferences among the electors. Georgius Sabinus Hist. de Coronat. Caroli V.

Upon the day fixed for these conferences, the elector of *Mentz* propos'd the subject they were to consider upon, and said the only question they had to determine, was to choose either the king of *France* or the king of *Spain*, or a *German* prince. He examined the reasons of these three parties, and concluded strongly for the king of *Spain*.

The elector of *Treves* on the other hand harangued in favour of the king of *France*, and endeavoured to shew the weakness of the motives which were urged to reject him, and plac'd the reasons for preferring him to the king of *Spain* and the *German* princes in the strongest light.

The elector of *Saxony* declared for the king of *Spain*. The king of *Bohemia*'s proctor, and the elector of *Cologn* joined him. The elector *Palatine* of *Bavaria* was at first for the king of *France*; but he was intimidated by the approach of an army of the cities of *Suabia*, who had just driven the duke of *Wirtemburg* from his dominions, and declared for the king of *Spain*. He was apprehensive that they would come upon the *Palatinate*, and gave his vote for the king of *Spain*. The marquis of *Brandenbourg*, finding that he should oppose the torrent in vain, followed the majority; and the elector of *Treves* having Memoires of the Marshal de Fleurranges.

A. D. 1519. having desired, but to no purpose, that they would continue the debate, and not be in such haste to conclude, added with a sigh, that he foresaw this election would produce a great deal of mischief in *Germany*; but that he might not make a schism in the empire, he joined his suffrage to those of the other electors. Thus was the election made, or rather resolved upon; for this meeting was not publick. The day was appointed for a solemn assembly in the presence of all the members of the empire. It was held upon the twenty-eighth of *June*, and *Charles* king of *Spain* was proclaimed emperor.

If we may believe the marshal *de Fleuranges* in his memoires, the king missed his aim, in not following a piece of advice he gave him, which was to take the *Suabian* troops I mentioned before into his pay. They desired no better; and proposed it twice to this lord, who was then making interest for the king with the princes of *Germany*. *Robert de la Mark* his father, duke of *Bouillon* and *Sedan*, who had embraced the king of *Spain*'s party, gave the same advice to that prince, who followed it. From thence came the change of the count *Palatine*, who by recalling the suffrage which he had given for the king, took off the division of the electors, and made the plurality of voices fall upon the king of *Spain*.

We may easily imagine how sensibly this choice, made in the sight of all *Europe*, touched the two kings; how much the one was filled with joy, and the other with chagrin at it. It threw the pope and the *Venetians* into great perplexities; and they saw very well, that the pretensions of the two princes to the kingdom of *Naples* and dutchy of *Milan* would put *Italy* in danger of being soon again the theatre of the war.

The king had another reason to declare war against the emperor: It was that this prince had not observed the treaty of *Noyon*; and that he always shuffled about the principal article, which related to the restitution of *Navarre* to young king *Henry*. However, they were neither of them in haste, for which they had both good reasons.

The *Spaniards* were very much dissatisfied with the new emperor, being jealous of the *Flemings*, to whom they found he gave too large a share of the places and riches

riches of *Spain*. *Charles* was likewiſe uneaſy upon a point relating to the kingdom of *Naples*: For according to the ancient concordates, that kingdom could not be poſſeſſed by the prince, who was raiſed to the imperial throne; and the popes had never departed from that article. Laſtly, before he could make war with *France* for the *Milaneze*, it was neceſſary for him to ſet the affairs of the empire in order, the government of which at this time was very difficult. *A. D.* 1519.

On the other hand the king ſaw *Charles*'s power was prodigiouſly augmented, and that he would be able to cruſh him, if he compaſſed his end in uniting the forces of all his dominions againſt him. He knew not how far he could depend upon the king of *England*, tho' this prince ſeeing *Charles* become ſo powerful, ſhould naturally join with *France* to make a balance. For which reaſon the king, to be ſecure on that ſide, propoſed an interview to the king of *England*, who willingly conſented to it. He croſſed the ſea in *June*, and as had been agreed, they ſaw one another the firſt time in the mid-way betwixt *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*. There were ſeveral conferences between the two kings and their miniſters; and every thing was done with the greateſt magnificence and reciprocal marks of the moſt ſincere affection. The king of *England* among other things promiſed the king of *France*, that he would declare againſt the emperor, in caſe he ſhould attack the *Milaneze*, or diſturb the repoſe of *Italy*. *A. D.* 1520. *Memoirs of* Bellay, *l.* 1. *Journal of* Louiſa *of* Savoy.

In the mean time the emperor, after a great deal of conſideration, reſolved to leave *Spain*, and take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and left for adminiſtrator of that kingdom *Cardinal Adrian* biſhop of *Tortoſa*, a native of the *Netherlands*, who had been formerly his preceptor. This choice irritated the *Spaniards* extremely.

He ſet ſail upon the twenty-ſecond of *May* from *Corunna*; and never did prince run a greater hazard of loſing a rich crown, which he was already in poſſeſſion of, to go after another, which would coſt him a great deal of trouble to keep, if that ſhould fail him. He touched at *Dover*, and the king of *England* was then at *Calais* going to re-imbark, when he received Anthony de Vera, *Hiſt.* of Charles V.

A. D. 1520. an express, which brought him the news of that prince's arrival.

The king of *England* went immediately to *Dover*; and this interview was a decisive stroke for the emperor. Cardinal *Wolsey* served him as much as he could; and this prince before his departure obtained a promise from the king of *England*, that he would be arbiter in any differences which might happen between him and the king, and take up arms against either of the two who refused his arbitration. Nothing could be more contrary to what the king of *England* had promised the king a few days before. This was depriving him of the liberty of requiring the emperor to execute the treaty of *Noyon*, and obstructing the design which he was not ignorant the king had, of obliging the emperor to restore *Navarre* to *Henry* son of the late king *John d'Albret*.

Du Tillet. *Collection of Treaties.*

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1.

The emperor came over to *Calais*, accompanied by the king of *England*, who had a mind to shew him that place and *Graveline*. Afterwards, having made some stay in the *Netherlands*, he went to *Aix-la-Chapelle* to be crowned. This ceremony was performed upon the twenty-third of *October*. He was employ'd the rest of the year in settling the affairs of the empire; and in the following he gave beginning to the long wars which afterwards laid waste the finest parts of *Europe*, and whose fatal effects were severely felt by *France*.

Epist. Valdesii ad Petrum de Angleria de Coronat. Caroli V.

The pope, at this juncture, acted in a very equivocal manner with the two princes; for on the one side he very easily gave up in the emperor's favour the important article I mention'd before, relating to the incompatibility of the kingdom of *Naples* with the empire in the person of the same prince: Yet this did not hinder him from making shortly after a private treaty with the king, in which he promis'd to refuse the emperor the investiture of it, and consented that the king should attack that kingdom upon three conditions: First, that he should yield to the holy see the city of *Cajetta*, and all the country as far as the river *Garillan*, and the confines of the ecclesiastical state: Secondly, that the rest of the kingdom of *Naples* should be given to *Henry*, this prince's second son; but that, till he was of age, it should be govern'd

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1.

govern'd by a cardinal legate, who should reside at *Naples:* Thirdly, that the king should assist him, when he had occasion, against the feudatories of the church. This article chiefly regarded the duke of *Ferrara.* *A. D.* 1520. Guicciard. l. 14.

The king seeing himself secure on the side of *Italy* by this treaty, and that which he had made with the *Venetians*, though he had all the reason in the world to distrust the king of *England*, would not put off any longer his intended enterprize upon *Navarre*, and a very favourable circumstance confirm'd his resolution.

It was the almost general insurrection of the principal cities of *Spain*, without excepting the capital. The people had dom *Pedro Giron*, and the bishop of *Segovia* at their head. The rebels made themselves masters of some citadels, of the artillery, and the few warlike provisions there were in some places. There were but few lords who enter'd into the rebellion; but then most of them stood idle spectators of these disorders, not daring, or not being willing to oppose them. They even talk'd of dethroning the king of *Spain*, and putting queen *Jane*, his mother, in his place, notwithstanding the distraction of her mind, which allowed her only some intervals of good sense. Variæ epist. Petri de Angleria, l. 33. 34. Vera, *Life of* Charles V.

The cardinal-administrator and the royal council knew not what method to take to remedy an evil which was growing every day, and spreading through all the parts of the realm. They had but very few troops, and the people laughed at their threats and their promises.

It was at this juncture that the king of *Navarre* raised an army in *France* in his own name, which march'd into *Navarre*, commanded by *Andrew de Foix*, lord of *l'Esparre*, brother to the marshal of *Laurrec*. He took *St. John Pied de Port*, the key of the country, and afterwards *Pampeluna* with its citadel. All the rest of the kingdom submitted after the taking of the capital, except the fortress of *Amaia*. Petrus de Angleria, epist. 722.

If *l'Esparre* had stopp'd here, and contented himself with securing his conquest, by putting the places in a state of defence, the emperor had lost *Navarre* entirely; but he being puff'd up with his success, penetrated into *Castile*, and laid siege to *Logrogno*. An. 1521. Petrus de Angleria, epist. 455.

Upon

A. D. 1521. Upon this news the *Spaniards* rouz'd themselves. The cardinal-administrator had already engaged the nobility to mount their horses; and having drawn out of *Navarre* the old troops which were there, and the absence of which had occasion'd the loss of that kingdom, they had subdued the rebels in several places, and in most of the towns the seditions were appeas'd.

The vigorous resistance of the governor of *Logrogno* gave time for succours to come in. The *French* raised the siege, and retreated towards *Pampeluna*. The *Spaniards* came up sooner than they expected them, by ways which they thought the artillery cou'd never have been brought; and the two armies were in sight of each other within a league of that capital. The duke of *Najara*, general of the *Spanish* army, offer'd *l'Esparre* battle, who did not refuse it. The *French* cavalry perform'd wonders; but the infantry gave way, and there the rout began. *L'Esparre* was taken prisoner, with some other *French*, *Gascon*, and *Navarre* lords. Several others were slain. If we may believe *Amirante* of *Castile*'s letters written from *Spain*, there were five thousand of the *French* army killed, and only fifty of the *Spanish*; but there is no doubt but we must substract from the number of the one to add to the other. This defeat happen'd upon the thirtieth of *June*, and was succeeded by the taking of *Pampeluna*, and all *Navarre*, which was reconquer'd by the *Spaniards* in as few days as the *French* had been in conquering it, except *St. John Pied de Port*, which the latter kept some time longer.

The emperor had no right to declare war against *France* upon this irruption, because by the treaty of *Noyon* the king of *Spain* was to satisfy the king of *Navarre*, either by the restitution of that kingdom, or some other way, which he had not done; and in case he did not do it, the king of *France* had reserv'd to himself a power to assist the king of *Navarre* with his troops and money, in order to put him into possession of his dominions: And therefore the emperor did not make this a motive for the war he declar'd against the king by way of fact: But he took another method, which was pretty plausible.

Robert

Robert de la Mark, lord of *Sedan* and *Bouillon*, had been chagrin'd by the emperor in a dispute which he had with the lord of *Aymeries*, relating to the little town of *Hierge* in the *Ardennes*, and pretended that this prince had done him injustice. This chagrin reconciled him to the king of *France*. He came to wait upon him at *Remorentin*, and made an offer to him of all his service and fortified towns. He was receiv'd with open arms, his little territory being a barrier for *France* on the side of the *Meuse*. *A. D.* 1521.

This lord was no sooner return'd home, but he raised some troops, not only in his own country, but likewise in the *French* dominions, notwithstanding the king's prohibitions, which were made, as was thought at that time, with probability enough only to save appearances. He made some inroads into *Luxembourg* with his troops; and what seem'd to be very surprizing, he sent to *Worms*, where the broils occasion'd by *Luther*'s heresy then employed the emperor, to declare war against him in form by an herald.

The emperor being surpriz'd at this piece of confidence, which could not come into the head of a petty prince, like *Robert de la Mark*, without he had thought himself well supported, imagin'd that it was an artifice in the king to begin the war: For which reason he dispatch'd two envoys immediately; one to *England*, and another to *France*. Angleria, epist. 753.

The first had orders to acquaint the king of *England* with the insult which had been just offer'd him, and to call upon him to procure him reparation for it, as being the arbiter appointed to adjust the differences which should arise between the emperor and the king of *France*. The other envoy was commission'd to make his complaints to the king upon this subject, and to know whether he avow'd what *Robert de la Mark* had done. The king answer'd that he did not avow it, and that he had not acted by his orders.

Soon after an envoy came from *France*, to desire the king not to enter into a war with the emperor, but rather to make a new treaty by the interposition of the king his master, and settle all things in a friendly manner. The king answer'd, that he would acquaint *Memoirs of Bellay*, l. 1.

A. D. 1521. quaint the king of *England* with his intentions as soon as possible, and sent away Mr. *de Montpesat* for this purpose.

This lord told the king of *England*, that it signified nothing to make a new treaty; that all the business was to procure the execution of that of *Noyon*, and that every thing else would easily be settled: And here the matter rested.

In the mean time, the emperor having receiv'd the king's answer, and his disavowal of *Robert de la Mark*'s enterprize, but coldly, march'd his army to chastise that prince; but the sequel shew'd that this was not his only design. *Henry*, count of *Nassau*, general of this army, enter'd upon the territories of *Robert de la Mark*, laid them waste, took his fortified places, and raz'd them, except *Sedan* and the castle of *Jamets*, which he durst not attack.

But the emperor went further than this, and without taking any more notice to the king, he order'd the count of *Nassau* to attack *Mouson*, which the cowardice of the garrison, made up of new rais'd troops, oblig'd the governor to surrender to him. By this enterprize, and some others, the war was openly declar'd.

Hist. of chevalier Bayard, c. 63. Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1. The count of *Nassau* having pass'd by *Sedan*, judging it to be too strong, came and laid siege to *Mezieres* with an army of five and thirty thousand men. The place was in pretty bad condition; but there was a very good garrison in it, and a commander who was not easily frighted or disconcerted. It was the famous chevalier *Bayard:* He behav'd himself in the defence of this town as he had always done every where else, that is, with such courage, vigilance, and activity, as always kept the enemy at a bay. He held them a month before the place, whilst the king got his army together. He made good use of the misunderstanding which happen'd between the count of *Nassau* and *Sikinghe*, another of the emperor's generals, and got a large convoy and fresh troops into the place. After which the count of *Nassau* knowing that the king's army was coming up, raised the siege. They pursued him, and during that time *Francis* of *Bourbon*, count of *St. Pol*, retook *Mouson*;

Ibid.

son; and the duke of *Vendome* made himself master of *Landrecy* and *Bapaume*, which he rac'd. *A. D.* 1521.

The king came to the bank of the *Schelde*, and made a bridge to pass over it. The emperor's army coming up too late to oppose his passage, retired. They consulted whether they should pursue them: It was the opinion of the constable of *Bourbon* that they should, but this was contrary to the advice of the marshal *de Chatillon*, who was not a man of so much skill as the constable, but entirely devoted to the queen regent. Thus they always called *Louisa* of *Savoy*, the king's mother, ever since she had this title, when the king went upon the conquest of *Milan*. The marshal made his court to that princess by contradicting him, because she bore a great hatred to the constable. The marshal had even the command of the vanguard given him, contrary to the right of the constable, who dissembled his anger, and shewed it but too plainly some time after: The king unseasonably stood upon prudence, at a time when he could have hazarded but little; and the young emperor was so persuaded of the danger his army was in, that when he knew the *French* had pass'd the *Schelde*, he retreated the night following to the county of *Flanders*, followed only by an hundred horse. Belcar. l. 16.

The king sent part of his army to attack *Bouchain*, which surrender'd to the duke of *Vendome*, and march'd with the rest to the assistance of *Tournay*, which the lord of *Liques* had besieged three or four months.

During these transactions, the lord chamberlain came to the king's army, and brought a project of a treaty made by the plenipotentiaries of *England* at *Calais*, where notwithstanding the war was so warmly carried on, they treated of peace with those of the king and the emperor: But before I speak of this negotiation, I will relate what happen'd during this year upon the frontiers of *Spain* and *Italy*.

The admiral *de Bonnivet* had been sent into *Guyenne* with an army. He advanc'd as far as the river *Andaye*, forc'd the passage of it, attack'd *Fontarabia*, and made an assault upon it, but was repuls'd: But the besieged apprehending it would be carried by a second assault, for which they were preparing, surrender'd the place; and *James d'Aillon* lord *Memoirs of Bellay, l. 1.*

A. D. 1521. lord of *Lude* was made governor of it: But matters did not go so well by a great deal beyond the *Alps*, as on the side of the *Pyrenees*.

The pope pretended he had reason to be dissatisfied with the king, particularly on account of the little regard paid him by the marshal *de Lautrec*, who commanded in the *Milaneze*, and *Menalde* of *Martori*, bishop of *Conzerans* *, who presided in the ecclesiastical affairs of that dutchy: He laid hold of these reasons, and some others, to break with the king, and make a league with the emperor; and tho' he had promis'd not to give the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to that prince, he received the white pad from him, and by this act of vassalage, he authentically own'd him king of *Naples*. What determin'd him to this alliance, was, that the emperor promis'd him to unite *Parma* and *Placentia* to the dominions of the church, which had for some years been yielded to *France*.

Annals of France, l. 14. *Belcar. l.* 16. This was one of the principal articles of the treaty, which was carefully kept secret; the others were that the pope and emperor, should unite their forces to drive the *French* out of the *Milaneze*, and settle *Francis Sforce* there, the brother of *Maximilian*, who had given up all his right over this dutchy to the king, after he had conquer'd it, in the year 1515. Most of the other articles related likewise to the advantage of the holy see and the house of *Medicis*. The republick of *Florence*, and *Frederick* of *Gonsagua*, marquis of *Mantua*, entered into this league. The cardinal of *Sion* used all his endeavours, to no purpose, to bring the *Swiss* off from the alliance with *France*; but he obtained leave to raise troops in the *Cantons*, upon condition that they should not be employ'd against the *Milaneze*.

The juncture was favourable to the designs of the pope and the emperor: The inhabitants of the *Milaneze* were very discontented at the *French* government. The marshal of *Lautrec* was a brave and a

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* *The Historians of that time call him Bishop of* Tarbes, *because he had had that Bishoprick; but he was translated to that of* Conzerans.

good

good officer, but was haughty and imperious. *Jerom Moroné* vice-chancellor of the *Milaneze*, who had contributed a great deal to the conquest of that dutchy, receiv'd neglects and affronts from the court. He could not dissemble his resentment; and, as he was afraid of being seiz'd, he made his escape, and went to *Trent* to *Francis Sforce*. *A. D.* 1521.

The marshal of *Lautrec* being gone to court to be married, the marshal of *Foix*, who had the same faults with him, was shortly after put in his place. Several of the most considerable persons in the *Milaneze* imitated the example of *Moroné*, and before they withdrew, settled a correspondence with other malecontents who staid.

The first disturbances began upon the account of these exiles, which is the name that was given them. The marshal of *Foix* knew that *Moroné* and some others were in *Reggio*, and march'd to surprize that place. *Francis Guicciardin*, the author of the history of the wars of *Italy*, was governor, under the pope, of *Reggio*, as well as *Modena*, and secured himself against the surprize. Guicciardin. l. 4.

The marshal seeing he was upon his guard, desired he would agree to a conference. This governor, well accompanied, came out to the entrance of the ravelin of the gate of *Parma*. They began with reciprocal complaints. The marshal complained, that contrary to the treaties made with *France*, the exiles of *Milan* were received into the pope's dominions; and the governor, that the marshal had entered upon the territories of the church in a warlike manner.

During the conversation, a gate was opened to receive a waggon loaded with corn: *Bonneval*, who was with some troops on that side, had a mind to make use of this opportunity to enter the town, and endeavoured to force his way; but was repuls'd, and the gate shut. They immediately shot upon the *French* from the ramparts; and the marshal run the risk of his life.

The pope being informed of this enterprize, excommunicated the marshal, and called a consistory, in which he declaimed strongly against the king of *France*, and enlarg'd mightily in praise of the emperor, who by proscribing *Luther*, as he had just done at the diet of *Wormes*,

A. D. 1521. *Wormes*, shewed himself a worthy son of the church, whilst the king of *France* thought of nothing but invading the dominions of the holy see. He made the most of the accident which had just happened at *Milan* upon the very day of St. *Peter*, and said it was a visible punishment of God: This was the thunderbolt which fell upon the tower, over the gate of the castle, where there was a great quantity of powder, and all sorts of warlike ammunitions. A great many *French* officers and soldiers were killed; and if the faction at *Milan* had had resolution and presence of mind enough, nothing would have been more easy than to have seized upon the castle, in which a very great breach was made.

The pope putting on a greater shew of anger than was real at the enterprize upon *Reggio*, sent for *John Manuel* the emperor's ambassador immediately, with whom he pretended to conclude a treaty, which had been sign'd above two months before, and which had already been begun to be executed.

The project was to have surprized the *French* at the same time in *Genoa*, *Cosmo*, *Placentia*, and *Parma*, with which places the pope and the emperor had correspondence. The design upon *Genoa* had fail'd already, through the vigilance of *Fregosa*, who was doge of that republick. The marshal of *Foix*, by going upon the expedition to *Reggio*, had dispersed the exiles, who were in the country about *Parma* and *Placentia*; and captain *Garron*, a *Biscayard*, governor of *Cosmo*, had not only beat *Mainfroy Palavicini* from before his town, but had likewise defeated his troops, and taken him prisoner.

Belcar. l. 16. In the mean while the marshal of *Foix* finding the war declared, and that he was attack'd on all sides, sent couriers upon couriers to court, to acquaint them with the danger the *Milaneze* was in. *Lautrec* had orders to go thither; but he represented that his journey would be to no purpose, if they did not give him money to pay the troops. They had none to give him; but at last they made him set out, upon their assuring him that they would immediately return him three hundred thousand crowns to *Milan*, and *James* of *Beaune* baron of *Semblançai*, superintendant of the finances, had orders to raise that sum.

He

He did so. But the queen regent, who did not love *Lautrec*, kept back this money; and they broke their word with him: So that for want of this assistance he was in the greatest perplexity. *A. D.* 1521.

He engaged the *Venetians*, by vertue of the last treaty made with them, to bring six thousand foot-soldiers, and six hundred gendarmes to the confines of the *Veronese* and *Bressan*. *Alphonso* of *Est*, duke of *Ferrara*, assisted him likewise with what he could raise in his country, which had been a long time wasted by the wars. He expected six thousand men from *France*, and ten thousand *Swiss*: But being obliged to have all his fortified towns garrison'd upon the account of the enemy's army, which was already in the field, all that he could do, was to keep himself upon the defensive, and to lose as little as he could.

Prosper Colonna was at the head of the pope's troops, waiting for the marquess of *Pescara*, who was bringing a large body of *Spaniards* from the kingdom of *Naples*, and the marquis of *Mantua*, who having left the *French*, was now of the number of the confederates, and was to join their army with a considerable reinforcement from his dominion. He had the title of captain-general of the troops of the church Four thousand lansquenets came also from the *Trentin*, with two thousand *Grisons*.

When all these troops were join'd, and reinforced by those which were brought by the exiles of *Milan*, the generals determined upon the siege of *Parma*. *Lautrec* had foreseen it, and the marshal of *Foix* was got into the town to defend it with the prince of *Bozzolo*; and the garrison was pretty numerous.

Colonna, who was come up before any of the others, employ'd himself while he waited for them in drying up some canals, which made the approach to one side of the town difficult. He compass'd his end; and after this, that place which was before the strongest, was now the weakest, and very hard to defend. The cannon would soon have made a breach of fifty paces in it; and the marshal thinking that it was impossible to sustain an assault in that part, abandon'd it in the night, and entrench'd himself in the other part

A. D. 1521. of the town, which was separated from this by the river.

There he defended himself vigorously; but he sent word to *Lautrec*, that if he was not succoured in three days time, he should be forced to surrender.

Lautrec had already pass'd the *Po* with five hundred lanciers, five thousand *Swiss*, and four thousand *French* foot-soldiers. He made as if he would have given battle, tho' he had no intention to do it, any more than to attack the enemy's entrenchments. Fortunately for him there happen'd to be some misunderstanding between *Prosper Colonna* and the marquis of *Pescara*, which had retarded the siege: They were resolved however to carry it on, notwithstanding the *French* army was so near, when a diversion which they did not expect obliged them to raise it.

The duke of *Ferrara*, with whom the marshal of *Lautrec* had left a small body, came into the field with twelve pieces of cannon. He took *Final* and the castle of *St. Felix*, and advanc'd towards *Modena*. This place was very unguarded and unprovided, and the loss of it would not have been recompenced by the taking of *Parma*: Besides that, it would have cut off their provisions. For which reason, after having called a council, they resolved to leave *Parma*, and march to the succour of *Modena*.

Lautrec, too happy in having sav'd *Parma*, let them go, and thought of nothing but covering the *Milaneze*, which was threatened by a body of six thousand *Italians*, who were soon to be join'd by the twelve thousand *Swiss*, which the cardinal of *Sion* had obtained of the *Cantons* after many refusals, and which had been granted him upon condition that they should not be employ'd against the *Milaneze*, because of the treaty made with the king of *France*. The cardinal took them upon this condition, tho' fully resolved not to observe it. In short, he gained the generals; and the confederates, after having passed the rivers, in the crossing of which it is pretended, that *Lautrec* several times missed his opportunity of defeating them, marched with the *Swiss* towards that dutchy.

The *Cantons* being advised of it, and not being able to bear that twelve thousand *Swiss* on one side, and

and as many on the other, should be every day just ready to cut one another's throats, sent them orders to leave both armies, and return to their own country. The difference in the execution of this order proceeded from the cardinal of *Sion*, who being informed of it, found means to stop and bribe the courier who was carrying it to the army of the confederates; but it was published in that of *France*. *A. D.* 1521. Belcar. l. 26.

The *Swiss* had no sooner received it, but being tired with so long a campaign, which had been lengthen'd out to the month of *November*, and angry at not being paid, the greatest part of them went away immediately, notwithstanding the remonstrances and requests of the marshal of *Lautrec*, who could not keep above three or four thousand of them.

To compleat this misfortune, the cardinal of *Sion* not only found means to keep the *Swiss* in the army of the allies, notwithstanding the orders of the cantons, but likewise took such measures with those who withdrew from the *French* army, that he engaged almost all of them to follow him.

Lautrec being in such sad circumstances, retreated with all speed to *Milan*, to endeavour to preserve that for the king. *Prosper Colonna* followed him, and encamped at *Marignan*: From thence he sent the marquis of *Pescara*, with some *Spanish* troops, to take a view of the disposition of the *French* in *Milan*. This general came up to the suburbs in the beginning of the night, and made himself master of the barrier by the flight of a *corps de garde* of the *Venetians*, who took the alarm, and were frighted. He entered that part of the suburbs which was abandoned, and marched up to the gate of the city. He found it guarded by the partisans of the *Gibelin* faction, who delivered it up to him.

Prosper Colonna being informed of what had happened, detached several bodies of troops one after the other, who had orders to march as fast as possibly they could. He came up himself, and the *Pavian* port was open'd to him by those in the city who knew of the treachery. He did not expect so much as this, but only hop'd at the most to make himself master of the suburbs.

A. D. 1521. The best that *Lautrec* could contrive in this surprize, and in the just suspicions he had of the inhabitants, was to call all the soldiers together upon the esplanade of the castle. He left in the command of this fortress a *Gascon* captain, named *Mascaron*, with as many troops as he could keep in it for some months; and, without waiting for day, he took the road to *Cosmo*, having still with him five hundred gendarms, three or four thousand *Swiss*, a few other infantry, and *Andrew Gritti*, the proveditor, with the *Venetian* troops to the number of six thousand men, and four hundred gendarms.

They came to *Cosmo* at break of day, and the *Swiss*, without waiting for any new orders, quitted the army to return to their own country. *Lautrec* being thus abandoned, left in *Cosmo* the lord of *Vandenesse*, brother to the marshal *de la Palice*, and passed the *Adda* at *Lecco*, with the *Venetians*.

In the mean time, *Prosper Colonna* taking advantage of the consternation the *French* troops were in, sent several detachments to seize upon the other places in the *Milaneze*, where there were very few troops. *Pavia* and *Lodi* surrendered: *Parma* and *Placentia* did the same: *Cremona* revolted; but captain *John d' Herbouville*, commander of the castle, held out till the arrival of some succours which *Lautrec* sent him, and the enemy who came running from all parts to support the revolt of the citizens, were obliged to retire. *Vandenesse* defended himself for some time in *Cosmo*, where the marquis of *Pescara* besieged him; but having no ammunition left, he was forced to capitulate.

All these pieces of good news came to the pope one upon another, and raised him to the height of joy. He had several times said, that he could die contentedly, if he saw *Parma* and *Placentia* taken from the *French*: But he did not enjoy this pleasure long; for four or five days after the taking of *Milan* and *Placentia*, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in three days.

Guicciard. l. 14.

During this time, they were treating of peace at *Calais* by the mediation of the king of *England*, and the negotiation I mentioned before continued; but nothing could be agreed on; and *Tournay*, which had

had been for several months besieged by general *de Liques*, was obliged to surrender; and the king made himself amends in some sort for this loss by the taking of *Hedin*. This was the situation of affairs towards the end of the year 1521. *A. D.* 1521.

The death of the pope disconcerted the confederates a little, not only because he was one of the alliance, but likewise because it was he who paid the *Swiss*, and the *Grisons*, and part of the *Italian* infantry, whom *Prosper Colonna* was forced to disband for want of money. This general was even put to difficulties to find wherewith to support his other troops; but *Jerom Moroné* got the citizens of *Milan* to be at this expence. He had taken the title of ambassador of *Francis Sforce*, who was by the treaty made between the late pope and the emperor, to be restored to the dutchy of *Milan*, which his ancestors had possessed. This motive, and the hatred of the *French*, made the inhabitants of *Milan* spare for nothing to deliver themselves from their yoke. *Memoirs of Bellay*, l. 2.

But what most encreased the hopes of the league against *France*, was the election of such a pope as the choice fell upon; which was upon cardinal *Adrian*, administrator of the kingdom of *Spain*, in the absence of *Charles* V. Never was a prince's preceptor better rewarded for the services he had done his scholar than this cardinal, who arrived all at once, and without thinking of it, at that to which all the intrigues of *Lewis* XII. notwithstanding so many favourable circumstances, could not advance cardinal *d'Amboise*.

The news of this election confounded the king; for which reason he hasted to provide for the affairs of *Italy* as soon as possible. He got ten thousand soldiers of the cantons, who were commanded by the marshal of *Lautrec*, the bastard of *Savoy*, and *Galeas* of *St. Severin*.

This assistance put the marshal into a capacity of opposing the enemy, and so much the more, because the pope was not without perplexity. *Francis Mary de Rovere*, formerly duke of *Urbino*, had no sooner heard of the death of *Leo* X. but he took arms, enter'd that dutchy, and almost re-conquered it all. The *Baglioni's* did the same, and made themselves Guicciard. l. 44.

A. D. 1521. masters of *Pérouse:* But, on the other hand, *Prosper Colonna* had taken *Alexandria* and *Ast*; and besides four thousand *Germans*, who were paid by the city of *Milan*, six thousand had been raised by the emperor with the money which the king of *England* furnished him with, and *Francis Sforce* was coming in person to take possession of the dutchy of *Milan*. The approaching arrival of this young prince, who was very well spoken of, was not the least piece of uneasiness to the marshal *de Lautrec*, upon the account of the affection of the people of the country for the family of the *Sforces*, their antient masters.

He resolved to prevent him, and advanced towards *Milan*. This city, as may be observed through all this history, always surrendered to the strongest, for fear of being plundered. The castle was ever the retreat for him who was obliged to abandon the town. The business now in hand was for *Lautrec* to succour it, and for *Prosper Colonna* to hinder its being succoured. This general had, during the winter, not only very well fortified the intrenchments within the city, but had likewise cast up very strong ones without it towards the country; and when *Lautrec* had taken a view of them with the marshal *de Chabannes*, they both judged it would be a rash undertaking to attack them. The citizens of *Milan* were not alarmed at the approach of the *French* army; and *Lautrec* seeing there was nothing to do on that side, resolved to go and encamp at *Cassano* upon the *Adda*, to prevent *Francis Sforce*'s passing it, who was coming from the *Trentin* to *Milan* with six thousand lansquenets.

The *Venetians* had joined the *French*, who received new re-inforcements from *France*, commanded by the marshal *de Foix*, *Peter Navarre*, and the chevalier *Bayard*. The army was grown pretty numerous. *Ann* of *Montmorenci*, a young lord, who had already signalized himself upon some occasions, stormed *Navarre*, and afterwards took the town and castle of *Vigevano*; but notwithstanding all that *Lautrec* could do, he could not hinder *Francis Sforce*'s passing the river; and he was received at *Milan* by the inhabitants with the greatest joy imaginable.

This

This marshal having failed in an enterprize he made upon *Pavia*, marched to *Marignan*; and having passed by within sight of *Milan*, he went and posted himself at the little town of *Monza*. *A. D.* 1521.

Colonna seeing the *French* so near *Milan*, advanced towards it himself, and encamped betwixt that capital and *Monza*, in *Bicoque*. This place, so famous in our histories for the bloody battle that was fought there, was nothing but a castle in a park of very large compass, where the old dukes of *Milan* took the diversion of hunting. It was a compleat camp ready made, in which the enemy's army would find it difficult to make a lodgment; and very advantagious for its situation, and its small distance from *Milan*, which was but a good league off. The park was enclosed on all sides with good walls and very deep ditches, and *Colonna* added several works. So that *Lautrec* had no thoughts of attacking him there: But he was forced to it in a manner, so that he could not help it. Geleacius Capella l. 2. Guicciardin. l. 14.

The *Swiss* not having received any money for a long time, their general officers came to the marshal, and declared to him the resolution they were in to return to their own country. He made remonstrances and requests to them in vain. Their last answer was; Sir, either money, or discharge, or battle. We will fight to morrow, if you will; but we will be gone the next day, if you will not.

Lautrec, in the necessity he was in of choosing, promised to lead them on the next day to fall upon the enemy's camp. They disposed themselves for it in the morning. *Montmorenci* put himself at the head of the *Swiss*, who were to make the first attack; and they were so impatient to do it, that notwithstanding all the arguments that commander could use, to prevail with them to stay for their cannon, which was behind, and which they would have occasion for to answer that of the enemy, and to destroy part of the fortifications of the camp, they forced him to advance and begin the attack.

As soon as they were come within reach of their cannon, all open and uncovered, they discharged such terrible vollies upon them, that above a thousand were taken off. They sustained this Fire with sur-

A. D. 1521. prising intrepidity, and threw themselves headlong into the ditch: But when they looked about on all sides, to see which way they should climb up the intrenchments, they found them every where so steep and high, that they could but just touch the top of them with the end of their pikes.

Here it was that a terrible slaughter was made by the cannon and arquebusses of the enemy, not one shot of which was lost in this multitude of soldiers in disorder: *Albert de la Piene*, their commander, and two and twenty officers were killed upon the spot. The count of *Montfort*, *Graville*, *Miolans*, *Roquelaure*, *Longa*, *Laguiche*, *Launay*, *Tournon*, were all slain. *Montmorenci* was knocked to the ground with a blow that stunn'd him, without hurting him otherwise; and he was drawn from under an heap of dead bodies, where he must have been smother'd. There were three thousand *Swiss* killed in this attack; and those that were left, consented to retire out of the reach of the cannon.

In the mean time the marshal *du Foix*, at the head of three hundred soldiers, and some *French* and *Italian* battalions, had stormed a stone bridge, which was the way of going into the enemy's camp, and had made himself master of that entrance into the intrenchment.

Lautrec having some hopes of succeeding by this place, proposed to the *Swiss* to march thither, and support the marshal *du Foix*: But they refused. And that lord being overpowered by the number of the enemies, which *Prosper Colonna* detached to that side, was forced to quit the post, after having lost a great many soldiers. They sounded a retreat; in which the prudence and valour of *Crequi*, lord of *Pontdormi*, who commanded the *Corps de reserve*, saved the rest of the army. For by the discouragement of the *Swiss*, it had been infallibly dispersed, if he had not stopp'd the enemy, who came out in great numbers to pursue it.

Notwithstanding all that *Lautrec* could do, the *Swiss* executed their resolution; and the *Tuesday* after *Low-Sunday*, that is, two days after the battle of *Bicoque*, they began to march homewards.

By

By their going *Lautrec* loſt half of his army. A few days after the marquiſs of *Peſcara* ſurpriſed *Lodi*. A new misfortune happened. The bridge which the *French* had made over the *Adda* being broken, three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe were ſtopp'd, and forced to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy, who made them priſoners. And laſtly, the *Venetians* ſeeing the *French* army deſtroyed, began to treat, in order to make a ſeparate peace with the emperor. *Lautrec*, who knew this, being quite diſconcerted with ſo many misfortunes, after having conjured the commanders of the caſtle of *Milan*, of *Novara*, and *Piſighitone*, which, with *Cremona*, were the only places that remained to the *French*, to remember that the honour and welfare of the nation was in their hands, ſet out in order to go to Court, and give an account to the king of the deplorable condition in which he left the *Milaneze*. *A. D.* 1521.

He could hardly expect to be well received there. He had done ſome handſome actions, and committed ſome great Faults; but uſually bad ſucceſs makes the latter to be remembred, and the former forgot. He obtained an audience with a great deal of difficulty, by means of the conſtable. The king received him very coldly; and *Lautrec* took the liberty to begin, with asking him the reaſon of it. Can I, anſwered the king, look with a good eye upon him who hath loſt me my dutchy of *Milan*? Sire, replied *Lautrec*, with reſolution, I am bold to tell your Majeſty, that ſhe is the only cauſe of it in not furniſhing me with money for the troops. How! ſaid the king, all in a ſurpriſe; did not you receive four hundred thouſand crowns ſoon after you got to *Milan*? I received Letters about them from your majeſty, replied *Lautrec*, but that money never came over the *Alps*. *A. D.* 1522. Belcar. l. 17. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 2.

At theſe words the king, full of rage, ſent immediately for ſuperintendant *Semblançay*, and demanded an account of him of the four hundred thouſand crowns. He owned that he did not ſend them into *Italy*, and ſaid, that the queen regent had taken them, after having aſſured him, that ſhe would provide for every thing; and that he had her acquittance for it.

This

A. D. 1522. This excuse hardly justified the minister: But the king breaking off the discourse, entered hastily into that princess's chamber, and complained bitterly to her of the irreparable loss which she had brought upon him by her unfaithfulness and avarice.

The queen regent, without being moved, answered coolly, that all that *Semblançay* said was false. He was brought before her immediately. She maintained to his face, that all the money she received of him, was a deposit which she had trusted in his hands, consisting of what she had saved out of her revenue, and that it was not that which was enquired after.

As both of them spoke with a great deal of assurance, the king not knowing whom to lay the fault upon, and being resolved to go to the bottom of the matter, ordered *Semblançay* to be confined. The affair was drill'd on for several years. He was not tried till the year 1527, when he was condemned to be hanged at *Montfaucon*, for the crime of peculation, and the sentence was executed.

The departure of *Lautrec* from the *Milaneze*, and the fear that he would return soon with new forces, made *Prosper Colonna* hasten to finish his conquest. He laid siege to *Cremona*; and the marshal *de Foix*, who commanded there, not daring to trust the garrison, which for the most part was *Italian*, capitulated, and obliged himself to surrender the place, if it was not succoured in three months by an army; but the castle, which was under the command of *John* of *Herbouville*, did not capitulate. The surprising of *Genoa* by the marquis of *Pescara* compleated the ruin of the king's affairs in *Italy*, where he had now no more places of defence, but the castles of *Milan*, *Novara*, and *Cremona:* But what perplexed him most, was, that he was attacked at the same time on the side of the *Pyrenees*, and that the *English* were likewise going to make a descent upon *Picardy*.

The resolution and valour of *James d' Aillon* lord of *Lude* kept the *Spaniards* near a year before *Fontarabia*, notwithstanding the scarcity and sickness which wasted his garrison. The marshal of *Châtillon* was sent to its assistance; but he died upon the road, and his staff was given to *Ann* of *Montmorenci*, who was then upon a negotiation at *Venice*.

The

The marshal of *Chabannes* took the command of the army, forced his passage over the river *Andaye*, notwithstanding the *Spanish* army was on the opposite shore, put it to flight, and raised the siege in the beginning of the following year 1523. My lord of *Lude* having a desire to return to court, left the command of the place to captain *Frauget*, lieutenant of the company of gendarms, belonging to the late marshal of *Châtillon*. *A. D.* 1522.

Before this time the king of *England* had declared war against the king in form by an herald, whom he sent to him to *Lyons*, and the duke of *Suffolk* came with an *English* army to *Calais*. He was joined by the count of *Bure*, at the head of the troops which *Margaret* of *Austria*, governess of the *Low-Countries*, had in pay. Polydor. Virgil. l. 27.

The king took the method which king *Charles* V. had formerly done in the long wars he had with the *English*: This was to keep upon the defensive, to furnish and fortify his places well, and to have several flying camps to tire the enemy, without coming to a decisive battle. The duke of *Vendôme*, the count of *Guise*, the count of *St. Pol*, and Mr. *de la Tremouille*, were the principal commanders of these little bodies. They every one behaved themselves with all the valour, activity, and conduct that could be desired of them. But at length the duke of *Suffolk* applied himself to the siege of *Hesdin*. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 2.

Du Biez commanded in that place, and defended it so well, that after a siege of six weeks the *English*, among whom the dysentery had made great havock, were forced to raise it, and returned into *England*, without having done any thing, but committed some ravages.

In the beginning of the Campaign of the year 1523, the duke of *Arscot* invested *Terouenne*, to conceal his design of surprizing *Guise*, with which he kept correspondence. But he missed his aim; and the duke of *Vendôme* having thrown a considerable assistance into *Terouenne*, the *Spaniards* retired. *A. D.* 1523.

In the mean time the castle of *Milan*, for want of provisions and ammunition, was forced to surrender; and the *Venetians*, after a great many delays, being persuaded that the king could not send a great many troops into *Italy*, on account of the diversion of the

English

A. D. 1523. *English* in *Picardy*, and the *Spaniards* on the side of the *Pyrenees*, treated with the emperor, and made an alliance against all who should pretend to disturb the repose of *Italy*.

When this alliance was publick, it was no longer doubted, but the king, who had business enough upon his hands at the several frontiers of his kingdom, would lay aside his design of a new expedition into *Italy*, which he was thinking of: But the *Milaneze* lay too near his heart, and he was resolved to hazard all to conquer it again.

He continued making his preparations, being perswaded in himself, that the *Venetians*, and several other states of *Italy*, would return to his side, as soon as he should appear there in person at the head of a fine army, out of the jealousy they had to the great power of the emperor, under whom they could not avoid being crushed: But an unlucky accident broke all his measures, and was attended with fatal consequences to the kingdom: This was the rebellion of the constable of *Bourbon*; the original of which was the hatred of the queen regent, the king's mother, to that prince.

Pleadings of Montholon, and the other Lawyers in this Cause.

Among several things which kindled or nourished this hatred, that which made the most open appearance, was a great suit at law which this imperious and revengeful princess entered into with the constable, about the estate belonging to the house of *Bourbon*, the loss of which would have been the utter ruin of that prince.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 2.

The emperor being informed of the constable's chagrin, by *Adrian* of *Croy*, count of *Roeux*, a considerable lord in the *Netherlands*, did not miss so great an opportunity, and looked upon the prince as a very proper instrument to give the king great perplexity in his kingdom, and who might at least be made a good use of to break the measures which he had taken to resettle his affairs in *Italy*.

In the Constable of Bourbon's Trial.

He sent *Beaurain*, his chamberlain, *incognito* to the constable with credential letters. The meeting was at *Montbrison* in *le Forez*. He proposed to the constable, to marry *Eleanor* of *Austria*, the king of *Portugal*'s widow, and niece to the emperor, with advantages proportionable to such an alliance. The constable being hurried away with anger, yielded to these

these great offers, and promised to assist the emperor and the king of *England*, with all his power, in the irruption which they had concerted to make in the kingdom. *A. D.* 1523.

In the mean while the king was ready to march for *Italy*. The admiral *de Bonnivet* was gone before, and had already seized upon *Pas de Suze*. The marshal of *Montmorenci* had since that passed the *Alps*, and joined the admiral near *Turin*, where they waited for the king, and the rest of the army; when that prince being come to *St. Peter le Monstier* in *Nivernois*, was informed by *Matignon* and *d' Argouges*, two *Norman* gentlemen of the constable's family, that something or other was plotting under hand with the emperor, by the means of the count of *Roeux*; but they did not know any of the particulars. The king continued his march as far as *Moulins*, where the constable was in bed, feigning himself sick, that he might be excused from going into *Italy*, whither the king intended he should accompany him. *Memoirs of Bellay, l. 2.*

The king went to see him, accosted him with a very friendly air; and having made every body retire, told him, that he was informed from good hands, that he kept a correspondence with the emperor, who made use of the count of *Roeux* to endeavour to corrupt him; that he did not doubt but the suit of Law which had been entred into, chagrined him very much; but that he might depend upon his goodness; and assured him, that if he lost his cause, he would return him all his estate.

The constable, without seeming confounded, confessed, that the count of *Roeux* had sollicited him in the emperor's name; but that, knowing his duty to his king and country, he had utterly rejected all the offers which had been made him: That he was always resolved not to make this a secret to his majesty; that he had not acquainted him with it, because he thought it was not proper to trust such a thing to a third person, any more than in a letter, and that knowing he was to pass by *Moulins*, he had deferred giving him an account of it till then: That now, to remove all suspicion, he would follow him into *Italy*; and that his physicians having assured him, that in a few

A. D. 1523. few days he might bear a litter, he hoped to join him very speedily at *Lyons*.

The king, who judged of every body's sincerity by his own, was satisfied with his answer; and notwithstanding the opinion of the wisest of his council, who advised him to have the constable taken up, he would not do it, but pursued his march to *Lyons*: But very soon after he was come thither, he learned, that that prince accompanied with one single gentleman, called *Pomperant*, had made his escape. He dispatched messengers after him, and sent some horse to several passes. He was very near falling into the hands of those who were searching for him: And after several adventures which always happen upon these occasions, he got to *Trent* in six weeks time; and from thence he went into the *Milaneze*, with the title, of the emperor's lieutenant-general in *Italy*; but he did not so soon act in that office.

The desertion of this prince gave the king a great deal of trouble. All the constable's fortified places were seized on, and several lords and gentlemen, who were suspected of being concerned in this affair; and the king thought it would not be prudent in him to go into *Italy* at such a juncture. So that admiral *de Bonnivet* was trusted with all the management of the war in that country.

He had a very fine army. It consisted of above five and twenty thousand foot, part *French*, part lansquenets, and part *Swiss*, and a great number of gendarmery, besides the light horse. The first thing he did, was making himself master of the town of *Novara*, and he left the castle blocked up. Afterwards he took *Vigévano*, and subdued all the country on this side the *Tesin* without a battle. He forced his passage over that river, notwithstanding the opposition of *Prosper Colonna*, and was very much blamed for not going strait to *Milan*, which in the consternation the inhabitants were in, would have opened its gates to him. He heartily repented of it afterwards; and contented himself with blocking up that capital, by means of *Monza* upon the *Lambro*, in which he put a garrison, and by the gate of *Lodi*, of which chevalier *Bayard* had made himself master.

This

This knight went from thence to *Cremona*, the castle of which the brave *John* of *Herbouville* had kept two years for the king. He died there a little while before, and there were but eight soldiers left in it, into whom he had infused so much courage, that they never desired to surrender; but always rejected the enemy's offers, who not knowing how small their number was, durst not set about storming them. *Bayard* got in by the gate of *Secours*, and afterwards besieged the town; but the rains obliged him to abandon the enterprize. *A. D.* 1523.

Admiral *Bonnivet* did the same to some others, which had no better success; after which, the rains and snows being fallen, he was forced to quit the blockade of *Milan*. He retired to *Biagrassa*, near the *Tesin*, where he fortified himself, in order to spend the winter there, and wait for succours from *France* at the opening of the next campaign. He sent some *Savoyard* troops which he had in his army into *Piemont*, and some others into *France*, to get quarters. Guicciard. l. 15. Capella, l. 3.

A little before this, pope *Adrian* died, and was succeeded by *Julius de Medicis*, who took the name of *Clement* VII. Towards the end of this same year 1523. died likewise *Prosper Colonna*, who was a great loss to the confederates. He was esteemed the greatest general in *Italy*. He was succeeded in the command by the count of *Lannoy*, viceroy of *Naples*. It was at this time that the constable of *Bourbon* came also into the *Milaneze*, to the misfortune of the *French*. I will resume the course of affairs in this country, after having touched upon what passed upon the frontiers of *France* during this last campaign.

That was less unhappy than could have been hoped for, as the kingdom was attacked at the same time on all sides. The skilfulness of the commanders, with whom the king trusted the defence of the frontiers, made amends for the small number of soldiers which they had to guard them. The count of *Guise* starved twelve thousand lansquenets, who had penetrated into the dutchy of *Burgundy*, by the way of *Franche-Comté*, by cutting off their provisions, obliged them to retire, and defeated part of their rear while they were repassing the *Meuse*.

The

A. D. 1523. The *English*, joined with the *Flemings*, entered *Picardy*, and took some small places which were not defensible. They advanced as far as within eleven leagues of *Paris*; but Mr. *de la Tremouille*, whom the king had made his lieutenant-general in *Picardy*, provided so well for the security of all the fortified places, that they durst not attack any one of them; and Mr. *de Chabot*, lord of *Brion*, and the duke of *Vendôme*, being come up in *November* with a body of troops, the enemy was obliged to retreat, without being able to take up their winter-quarters in *France*, as they had boasted they would. The brave *Charles de Crequi*, of *Pontdormi*, signalized himself in this country, during the campaign, by several actions, in which his courage and conduct equally appeared; and he was one of those to whom the king was the most indebted for the preservation of this province.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 2. The marshal of *Lautrec* gained no less glory in *Guyenne*, where he commanded. The *Spaniards* besieged *Bayonne* by sea and land. The marshal threw himself into the place, tho' it had but a very small garrison, and defended himself so well, that he forced the enemy to raise the siege; after which they repassed the mountains.

So handsome a defence in three different parts of the kingdom was no less glorious than so many victories; and excepting the plundering of some places in the flat country, the kingdom, though attacked by numerous troops, received no damage this year; but the next began, and continued with less success; and fortune seem'd at last to become more favourable to *France*, only to throw it into greater misfortunes.

The first bad news came to the king from that side where he expected it least: It was that of the taking of *Fontarabia*. Captain *Frauget* surrendered this place by capitulation in *February*, after a month's siege, which Mr. *du Lude* had defended for a year some time before, notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions, and ill condition of the garrison. *Frauget*'s excuse was, that he suspected don *Pedro* of *Navarre*, and the *Navarrois*, whom this lord commanded there. His excuses were not receiv'd, but he was degraded from his nobility with the most ignominious circumstances. He had shew'd his valour upon several occasions,

caſions, but he wanted it on this. The *Spaniſh* army being in a very ſorry condition through the fatigues it had ſuffer'd at the ſiege in ſo hard a ſeaſon, went upon no other enterprize; but affairs began to be urgent in *Italy*. *A. D.* 1524.

The generals of the confederates took the field in the beginning of *March*. The conſtable of *Bourbon*, the count of *Lannoy*, viceroy of *Naples*, the duke of *Urbino*, general of the troops of the church, *Peter Peſaro*, proveditor of the *Venetian* army, and the marquis of *Peſcara*, after having held ſeveral councils, concluded, that as they were much ſtronger than the admiral, they ſhould, without delay, march towards him, and oblige him to quit his camp at *Biagraſſa*, by cutting off his proviſions.

They paſſed the *Teſin*, and took ſome places. The admiral, who ſaw that their deſign was to hem him in, was obliged to decamp, which he did, and poſted himſelf at *Vigevano*, on this ſide the *Teſin*. The ſurprize of *Verceil*, which the enemy made themſelves maſters of by the correſpondence they had with the *Gibelin* faction, compleated his confuſion. They deprived him, by this means, of the communication with *Piemont*, and encloſed him in the *Novareſe*, a country entirely ruined, where it would be impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt. Capella, l. 3. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 2.

He had but two remedies left, one a re-inforcement of ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, who were coming to him from the ſide of *Yvrée*; the other was ſix thouſand *Griſons*, who were marching from *Bergamaſque* to join the prince of *Bozzolo* at *Lodi*, with deſign to make a diverſion upon the territories of the *Venetians*, and the country about *Milan*; but the activity of the enemies generals broke all his meaſures.

John of *Medicis* was ſent by the viceroy with four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe to meet the *Griſons*; and he harraſs'd them ſo with this cavalry, that he made them return into the mountains without having been able to get near the *Lodeſon*, where the prince of *Bozzolo* was waiting for them. Ibid.

The admiral being deprived of this ſuccour, decamped from near *Novara*, and came to *Romagnano* upon the *Seſſia*. The *Swiſs* came up the next morning

A. D. 1524. ing to the bank of that river on the other side, and nothing could any longer hinder their joining.

Though most historians ascribe the loss of the *Milaneze* to the bad conduct of the admiral, yet it must be confess'd that his ill fortune had a great hand in it. The *Swiss* answer'd those whom he sent to compliment them upon their arrival, that they did not come to join their army, but only to bring back those of their nation to their own country, the greatest part of whom had perished already by fatigue and sickness; that the king had not kept his word with them; that he had promis'd them that when they came to *Yvrée*, they should meet with the duke of *Longueville*, and four hundred gendarms to escort them; that they were disappointed; that it look'd as if they had sent for them only to expose them as a prey to the cavalry of the confederates; and that, in short, they would go no further.

The *Swiss* in the army knowing the disposition of their country-men, made no delay to be gone; and they went in crowds as fast as they could to all the fords they could find to get to the other side of the river.

The admiral being very much vexed to see himself lost by the very means which should have been his preservation, had no other method to take but to pass the *Sessia* over the bridge which he had built, in order to get into *France* with the debris of the army, by the valley of *Aost*; but the enemy's army followed them so close, that this retreat could not be made without great danger. It was by the advice of the constable of *Bourbon*, contrary to that of the other generals, who were for letting the troops rest, that they did not lose sight of the admiral, without which he would have escaped them. They had their army already form'd in order of battle, when this general was making his dispositions to pass the *Sessia*.

He sent his infantry over the bridge, and staid behind with the rear and all the gendarmery to support the effort of the enemy who attacked them briskly. He was wounded with a musket shot in the arm in the first onset. The great quantity of blood which he lost, obliged him to retire, and be carried to the other

other side of the bridge, leaving the care of the rear to the count of *St. Pol*, and the chevalier *Bayard*. *A. D.* 1524.

These two brave men did all that could be expected from their courage and conduct, and repulsed the enemy several times; but *Bayard* having receiv'd a musket shot into his kidneys, which broke his vertebræ, could not keep upon his horse, but was forced to be taken to the ground. He ordered himself to be set up against a tree, with his face turned to the enemy, holding the hilt of his sword before his eyes, for want of a crucifix, and praying to God while he waited for death, which he easily perceiv'd was very near.

The count of *St. Pol*, who was left by himself with the care of the retreat, continued to perform great exploits of arms with the remains of the gendarmery which he had; and how unfortunate soever this retreat might be, it would have passed in other circumstances for one of the finest actions in war that had been seen in a long time; for it was made in very good order; the artillery was saved with most of the baggage, and there were not many men killed.

One of those who was most regretted, was Mr. *de Vandenesse*, brother to the marshal *de Chabannes*, as eminent an officer as any in the army; but the death of the chevalier *Bayard* made almost all the others be forgot, so much was he beloved and esteemed both by the *French* and the enemy.

The marquis of *Pescara* knowing the place where he stood wounded, ran thither, spoke very kindly to him; and finding that if he was remov'd, he would infallibly die under it, he had a tent brought to him, and sent for surgeons and a priest, whom the chevalier desired. He confessed himself, and received absolution.

The constable of *Bourbon* came likewise to see him, and when he had assured him of the esteem he had for him, he added, that he was very much concerned to see him in that condition. This great man, maintaining his character to the last, answer'd him with a noble spirit: *I am not worthy of your concern, my lord, since I die an honest man; but for my own part, I cannot but pity you, when I see you serving against your prince, your country, and your oath.* He expired

A. D. 1524. soon after, in the presence of the principal officers of the confederate army, several of whom could not forbear shedding of tears.

The count of *St. Pol* retreating with the rest of the troops, met the duke of *Longueville* between *Suza* and *Brianzon*, who was coming to the army with four hundred horse. This duke being informed by the count of *St. Pol*, that all was lost in the *Milaneze*, without any possibility of recovery, came back again over the *Alps* with him. *Lodi*, where the prince of *Bozzolo* was, and *Alexandria*, where *Bussy d'Amboise* commanded, were obliged to surrender, for want of succour, and obtained an honourable capitulation. By the taking of these two places, all the *Milaneze* was entirely in the enemy's power.

The pope being acquainted with this news, used all his endeavours with the emperor and the king of *England*, by means of the archbishop, to bring them to a treaty of peace with the king of *France*, representing to them, that in the condition he saw his affairs at present, he would accept it, though never so disadvantageous. The *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan* were likewise of this mind; but this did not agree with the emperor's vast designs, nor with the desire of revenge with which the constable of *Bourbon* was animated; and it is said that cardinal *Wolsey* also dissuaded the king of *England* from peace, because he was not willing the pope should have an hand in it, but that he would reap the honour of it himself, if there was one to be concluded.

It was resolved, therefore, to enter *Provence*, and push their conquest as far as was possible into the kingdom. The enemy's army being enter'd, went upon the siege of *Marseille*. The constable of *Bourbon* and the marquis of *Pescara* were commission'd to carry it on by land, and *Hugh* of *Moncade*, with a fleet, was to go upon it by sea.

As soon as the king was informed of the enemy's design upon this place, he sent thither *Philip Chabot*, lord of *Brion*, together with *Rentio Ceres*, an *Italian* gentleman, who had been a long time since in the *French* service. The place was vigorously defended, and the king being come into *Provence*, at the head of an army of between thirty five and forty thousand men,

Memoirs of Bellay. l. 2.

men, the enemy resolved to raise the siege after an attack of forty days. *A. D.* 1524.

They lost a great many men at this siege. The constable of *Bourbon* put his large artillery on board the galleys, and sawed the field-pieces in two, to carry them upon mules, because of the ill roads. He was charged in his retreat by the marshals of *Chabannes* and *Montmorenci*, who killed a great many soldiers of his rear, and took a great deal of baggage from him. The *French* fleet, commanded by vice-admiral *de la Fayette* and *Andrew Doria*, closely pursued that of *Moncade*, came up with it, and sunk three of his galleys. He escaped with the rest to the port of *Nice*. He took the equipages and artillery out of them, and set fire to them, chusing rather to burn them than leave them to the *French*.

The diversion which the *Scots* were ready to make under the command of the duke of *Albania*, in case the king of *England* should send any troops into *Picardy*, prevented this prince, who on the other hand received no money from the emperor, from undertaking any thing against *France*. The duke of *Guelderland* likewise, during this time, made some business beyond the *Issel* for the governess of the *Netherlands*; so that she not being assisted by the *English*, let the frontiers of *France* on the side of the *Low Countries* continue in repose. Without these happy diversions, the king would have been much embarrassed.

He should have looked upon himself as happy in forcing his enemies to quit *Provence*, and in having hindered them from taking their winter-quarters there, as they designed, if they had made themselves masters of *Marseille*; but he could not be contented with this. He had a very fine army: The dutchy of *Milan* was always next his heart. It was his first conquest, in which he had gained a great deal of glory. The bad condition of the enemy's troops gave him hopes of re-conquering this dutchy, and he resolved to cross the *Alps* again.

This was contrary to the advice of the marshals of *Chabannes* and *Foix*; of messieurs *de la Tremouille*, *d'Aubigny*, and the queen regent, because the season was too far advanced, it being then *October*: But admiral *de Bonnivet*,

A. D. 1524. *nivet*, Mr. *de Chabot*, and some others, who were of the contrary opinion, which agreed with the king's inclination, carried it.

The king took his rout by mount *Cenis*, going by the way of *Turin*, and the *Imperial* army turned towards *Montferrat*. The business was, they who marched the fastest, would get first to *Milan*. The viceroy of *Naples* threw himself into that capital with some troops, designing to defend it, as *Prosper Colonna* had done against admiral *Bonnivet:* But there was a great deal of difference between affairs now and in the preceding campaign. The plague had made this great city a desert; the magazines were unfurnished, the fortifications and ramparts in very bad condition, and consternation was spread through the city.

Scarce had the viceroy entered, but *Michael Anthony*, marquis of *Saluzzo*, sent by the king with two hundred gendarms, and four thousand foot-soldiers, appeared on the side of the gate of *Verceil*. He attacked a part of the suburbs, drove the *Spaniards* from it, and remained master of it, notwithstanding the sallies which were made to retake it. The viceroy was preparing to make a last effort, when he saw Mr. *de la Tremouille* appear with a numerous body of cavalry and infantry, designed to support the marquis of *Saluzzo*. He did not doubt but all the army was come to besiege him; and as he was afraid of being shut up in a town where there was but little provisions and ammunition, he immediately resolved to quit it, keeping the castle. He went out at the *Roman* port, and at the same time the *French* troops entered at the ports of *Tesin* and *Verceil*, which the citizens opened to them when they saw the *Imperialists* leave them.

The marquis of *Pescara* stopp'd at *Lodi*, where he kept two thousand men to defend it; and he strengthened the fortifications. The viceroy threw some troops into *Cosmo*, and into *Trezzo*, upon the *Adda*, and went with the constable of *Bourbon*, the duke of *Milan*, and the rest of the troops, to encamp at *Soncino* upon the *Oglio*, to regulate his motions according to those of the *French* army.

The viceroy was in great perplexity for want of money. His only remedy was a sum of fifty thou-

sand

ſand crowns, which the emperor had ſent to *Genoa* for the expedition into *Provence*, which had miſcarried. He made uſe of this money for raiſing ſix thouſand Ianſquenets, whom the conſtable of *Bourbon*, who was very much beloved by that nation, went to levy in *Germany*. The duke of *Savoy*, who was a particular friend of this prince's, lent him a conſiderable ſum beſides. This was matter of ſurprize; for this duke had hitherto been in the intereſt of *France*. It was thought that he was angry at the king's refuſing his mediation which he had offered him, and chagrin'd at the queen regent, who joined with *Renatus* of *Savoy*, count of *Villars*, in a difference which he had with him. A. D. 1524. Guichenon *History of* Savoy.

Beſides the want of money, the viceroy was likewiſe uneaſy at the diſpoſition of the princes of *Italy*. The pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians* ſeemed to act very faintly, and the laſt began to fall off from the emperor, whoſe ambition was become formidable to them, and his behaviour very ſuſpicious, by his having hitherto refuſed to grant the inveſtiture of the dutchy of *Milan* to *Maximilian Sforce*, ſufficiently ſhewing by that, that notwithſtanding all his promiſes, he intended to be maſter of it himſelf.

Nothing was more advantageous to the king than this abatement of zeal, and theſe miſtruſts among the confederates; but ſtill he was very unreſolved as to the ſeveral enterprizes upon which he might employ his troops. At laſt, after many conſultations, the ſiege of *Pavia* was reſolved on.

The taking of this place could not but be of very great advantage, becauſe it ſecured all the country behind him, and opened a large one before him for the ſubſiſtance of his army; but it was very ſtrong. There was a numerous garriſon in it; and *Anthony de Léve*, one of the moſt experienced of the emperor's officers, was governor. Beſides, the ſeaſon was very far advanced. It is ſaid that the viceroy was very much rejoiced when he heard the king had fixed upon this place, promiſing himſelf that he ſhould have time to receive the troops he expected out of *Germany*.

Accordingly *Anthony de Léve* defended the town with all poſſible valour. In *January*, that is, after it had been attacked two months, the ſiege was not

A. D. 1524. far advanced. The rains, snows, and want of forage had brought the *French* into a very bad condition. In the mean while, the troops raised in *Germany*, to the number of twelve thousand men, came up, and put the enemy into a condition of succouring *Pavia*; the more so, because the king had a little before sent out some detachments which had very much weakened him; and he had likewise the vexation of being abandoned by six thousand *Grisons*, whom their superiors recalled to defend their own country, where *John-James de Medicis*, constable of the castle of *Musso*, had just surprised the town of *Chiavennes*.

The enemy advanced towards *Pavia*, and continued incamped within sight of the *French*, between thirteen and fourteen days, during which there were frequent sallies out of the town, and several skirmishes between the two armies. At last they resolved to attack the king's camp upon *St. Matthias*'s day, which they look'd upon as a lucky one, because it was the emperor's birth-day. *An.* 1525.

The chief attack was made by the park of *Mirabel*, where the duke of *Alençon*'s quarters were. This prince behaved himself upon this occasion with all the courage and conduct that could be expected from him. The cannon being very well posted by *James de Genouillac*, great master of the ordnance, made a great slaughter among the enemy; and at the same time the duke of *Alençon* having sent *Chabot* of *Brion* to charge some *Spanish* troops, he defeated them, and took four or five of their field-pieces.

The king being informed of this brisk effort which was making at the duke of *Alençon*'s quarters, marched with the greatest part of his troops to support him. When he came up, he found the advantage which *Chabot* had gained, and saw at the same time that the *Spanish* infantry, not being able to stand the fire of the artillery, was filing off to get under cover in an hollow way, and made this motion with very little order, but great precipitation. He persuaded himself, that this was the beginning of a rout, and advanced towards that side to finish the defeat: But he did not take notice, that he put himself between the enemy and his own artillery, which by this means became

came unserviceable; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle. *A. D.* 1525.

For the *Imperialists* having no longer any thing to fear from the cannon, took heart again; and the viceroy coming up with his gendarmery, among whom he mixed two or three thousand arquebussiers on foot, he was resolved to fall upon the king.

This prince sustained the charge with a great deal of resolution, and with his own hand killed *Ferdinand Castriot*, marquis of *St. Ange*, of the family of the antient kings of *Albania*, who commanded the first squadron of the *Imperialists*: But the arquebussiers I mentioned, made such terrible discharges upon the *French* gendarmery, that it began to give way; and it was going to be broken entirely, if the *Swiss*, who were at the right of the king, and some light horse, had not stopped the *Spaniards* by falling upon their flank, and obliged them to quit part of the ground which they had already gained.

The viceroy seeing this people shocked, sent immediately to the marquis of *Pescara* for some battalions of lansquenets to oppose the *Swiss*. He brought them himself; and the *Swiss* forgetting their ancient bravery, did not stand a moment, but dispersed.

The king's right wing being thus uncovered, he was in great danger. However he sustained the attack of the enemy, till *Francis*, brother to the duke of *Lorain*, and the duke of **Suffolk*, came to his assistance with some lansquenets, to supply the places of the *Swiss*: But these two princes being killed upon the spot in the first charge, their men were overpowered by the great number of the *Imperial* lansquenets, and soon routed.

It was at this moment that the king being surrounded on all sides, had no hopes left but in his own valour, and that of some Gendarmery, who were still with him, and that of several lords, who, upon hearing

* *This duke of* Suffolk *is not he who married* Mary *of* England, *who was first married to king* Lewis XII. *This was a prince of the house of* England, *who had fled for refuge into* France.

A. D. 1525. ing of the danger he was in, had made their way sword in hand, through the enemy, to come to his assistance.

And here a great slaughter was made on both sides. Admiral *Bonnivet* was killed; *Lewis de la Tremouille*, being 75 years of age, *Galeas* of *St. Severin*, master of the horse to the king, another of the same name and family, lord steward of the houshold, *Marafin*, first equerry, fell likewise, but sold their lives at a very dear rate. The marshal of *Foix* served upon this occasion for a buckler to the king, against all the blows that were aimed at him, till fainting away through want of strength, he was taken with the bastard of *Savoy*, both full of wounds, and died a short time after.

Commentaries of Montluc, l. 1.

The count of *St. Pol* being thrown to the ground near the king, having lost a great deal of blood, and seeming to be dead, owed his life to a mere chance. A *Spaniard* who could not draw a ring which he had upon his finger, was going to cut it off; the pain roused him, and made him cry out. The *Spaniard* took him prisoner, and carried him to *Pavia*, where he recovered contrary to every one's expectation.

Letter of J. de Tournon *to the Viscount of* Turenne, *in the proofs of the history of the house of* Auvergne, *by Mr.* Baluze, p. 749.

The king having had his horse killed under him, and being wounded in the leg, defended himself on foot almost alone, in the midst of an heap of dead bodies, as well *French* as the enemies. He killed seven men with his own hand; five before he was thrown off his horse, and two after he got up again; and tho' they cried out to him on all sides to surrender, he would not do it, choosing rather to die fighting, than expose himself to the brutality of the soldiers, whom he already saw disputing among themselves, to which of them he should belong after he was taken.

At this moment *Pomperan* came up: This was he who alone accompanied the constable of *Bourbon* in his escape, and brought him into *Italy* through a prodigious number of dangers. He had authority enough to get a way made through the troop which was attacking the person of the king; and throwing himself at this prince's feet, he conjured him not to stand out any longer to his own destruction.

The king asked him, where the viceroy was; he answered, that he was not far off, and sent for him immediately. Upon his coming, the king quite spent with

with the efforts he had made, and the blood he had loſt, told him, that he gave him his parole, and then ſurrendered himſelf to him. *A. D.* 1525.

During this defeat of the king's troops, the marſhal of *Chabannes* was attacked in his quarter, and at the ſame time *Anthony de Léve* making a briſk ſally upon him, the lines were forced, and the marſhal loſt his life. Thus the *French* were defeated on all ſides. *Theodore Trivulca* and *Chandiou*, who commanded in *Milan*, went from thence with two thouſand men which they had, paſſed the *Teſin*, and ſecured themſelves. The duke of *Alençon*, with ſome remains of the troops belonging to his quarter, did the ſame; and theſe were all that retreated in any order.

The account ſent into *Spain* to the emperor, ſaid, that twenty-five thouſand men of the *French* army were killed upon the ſpot: But the king had ſcarce that number of ſoldiers in the camp at *Pavia*. *Guicciardin* writes, that there were ſeven hundred *Imperialiſts* killed, and between eight or nine thouſand on the ſide of the *French*; among whom there were a great number of gentlemen and perſons of quality. Nor were there fewer among the priſoners, who were a very great number, and amongſt others, *Henry Albret* king of *Navarre*.

The viceroy carried the king to the caſtle of *Pizightone*, where he ſtayed till after *Eaſter*, waiting for the return of the couriers which had been diſpatched into *Spain*, and of the emperor's orders, of which I ſhall ſpeak, after having touched upon what paſſed in *Picardy* in the beginning of the year 1525, and the ſeveral ſteps which were taken in ſome courts of *Europe*, upon the occaſion of the king's being a priſoner. *Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3.*

The two moſt conſiderable things which were done upon the frontiers of *Picardy* and the *Netherlands*, were performed by *Anthony de Crequi* of *Pontdormi*, both with ſucceſs; but the laſt was fatal to himſelf.

The firſt was at *Neuf-Foſſé*, which was a kind of canal that reached from *St. Omer* to *Aire*, fortified with redoubts, and furniſhed with artillery at the end of every road that led up to it, behind which the *Flemings* fed their cattle, and whither they had brought *Memoirs of Bellay, l. 2.*

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A. D. 1525. all their best, as into a safe and inaccessible place. *Pontdormi* surprised this post, carried off all the cattle, and a very great booty; and being pursued by the garrisons out of the neighbouring places, who got together, he turned about, defeated them, and took nine hundred prisoners.

The other happened at the castle of *Hedin*, which the lord of *Fiennes*, governor of the county of *Flanders*, intended to surprise. *Pontdormi* being advised of it, settled every thing in order, let the enemy come up, and seeing them enter the ravelin, in which they had put some barrels of powder, and other fireworks, covered with straw, he ordered them to be set on fire, which killed a great number of soldiers.

At the time that he was giving orders out of a window in the castle, to an engineer who was below in a kind of little room, I know not how it came to pass, but one of the squibs or rockets fell out of the engineeer's hand, and flew into the window where this lord was: It burnt in his face, and at the moment that he was speaking or taking his breath, the fire went so far into his mouth, that it burnt all the inside of his body. He fell down in a fit, and died two days after, regretted by all *France*, which lost in him one of the greatest soldiers she had at that time. This accident hindered them from following the enemy, as had been designed, and they retreated without being pursued.

Anthony de Vera, *hist. of* Charles V.

In the mean while the news of the king's being taken was carried to the queen regent, by the governor of *Pennalosa*, who was going with it to the emperor, from the viceroy. He brought a letter from the king, which had nothing but these words in it; *Madam, all is lost except honour*. It cannot be imagined what perplexity this princess was in. The kingdom without a king, the royal treasure spent, the frontiers without armies, the king of *England* just ready to come over to *Calais* with a great number of troops, were strange subjects of uneasiness to her. She gave immediately all the orders that could be given in such difficult circumstances, either for the security of the frontiers, or to get together the greatest number of troops that was possible. She desired the king of *England* to be so good as to let her send a *Genoese* to him, whose name

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3.

name was *John-Joachim Paſſano*, to make ſome propoſals to him; and he conſented to it. *A. D.* 1525.

The envoy ſoon perceived the favourable diſpoſition of the king of *England*, who began to be afraid of the too great power of the emperor, and who, ſince the ſucceſs which that prince had in *Italy* the foregoing year, began to perceive ſome change in his behaviour, even towards him.

He ſent aſſurances to the queen regent, that he would not be hard upon her, and that his army ſhould not go over into *Picardy*; that he would aſſiſt her in procuring the king her ſon's liberty, requiring only one condition of her, which could not but be agreeable to that princeſs; namely, that in the treaty which ſhe ſhould make for the releaſement of that prince, ſhe ſhould not conſent to the diſmembering of any province of the kingdom of *France*. This behaviour of the king of *England* delivered the queen regent out of the greateſt uneaſineſs ſhe had at that time.

In the mean time the emperor being informed by the governor of *Peunaloſa*, of the mighty victory gained at *Pavia*, put on an air of great indifference. He would not let any extraordinary rejoicings be made, but only allowed *Te Deum* to be ſung. He even ſent orders to the governors of the frontiers of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, to keep their troops within their garriſons, and not commit any hoſtilities upon the territories of *France*. Anthony de Vera, Hiſt. de Charles V.

The king of *England* on his ſide acted his part admirably well. He would not break ſo ſuddenly with the emperor, but force him to depart himſelf from his alliance, by making ſuch propoſals to him as he would never accept.

He expreſſed a great deal of joy at the victory of *Pavia*, and at the taking of the king of *France*, and a great forwardneſs to take the advantage of this incident, and ruin the *French* monarchy.

He ſent word to the emperor, that he was ready to invade that kingdom with all his forces, upon condition, that he ſhould have for his ſhare *Normandy*, *Guyenne*, and *Gaſcogne*, and that he ſhould be acknowledged by the empire as king of *France*; a title, he ſaid, which was his due, and had belonged to his predeceſſors, as well as all the kingdom itſelf, ever ſince

A. D. 1525. since the time of *Edward* III. He likewise required, that the emperor should come in person into *Guyenne* with a large army, and that the charge of the war should be divided between them.

The emperor took care not to agree to these proposals. He would not willingly have seen the king of *England* in the neighbourhood of the *Pyrenees*, master of *Guyenne* and *Gascogne*. He discovered enough of his intentions not to depend upon him; on the other hand, he wanted money to raise so numerous an army as that with which they proposed he should enter *Guyenne*. So that he resolved to do as well as he could, without the king of *England*, and from that time he considered how to free himself from the engagement that he had entred into with him, to marry his daughter *Mary* of *England*, then only nine years of age, and determined to find out some other match, whereby he might have a successor as soon as might be, as the *Spaniards* had begged of him to do in the most urgent manner. He resolved to draw the greatest advantages he could from a treaty with *France* for the king's liberty; and as he intended his generosity in this point should add honour to his character, he consented to a truce for six months, as the queen regent had desired of *Margaret* of *Austria*, governess of the *Netherlands*. The negotiation for the king's liberty being resolved on, gave the queen regent time to conclude with the king of *England*.

Collection of treaties by Leonard, t. 2. This important affair was managed by *John de Brinon* knight, lord of *Villaine* and *Auteuil*, first president of the parliament of *Normandy*, president of the council of regency, and by *Joachim Passano*, whom I mentioned before.

They signed three different treaties at *Moore* in *England*. The first dated upon the thirtieth of *August* this year 1525, contained a defensive alliance between the two crowns; and the king of *England* engaged himself by it to procure the king of *France*'s liberty from the emperor upon reasonable conditions, as should be agreed on with the queen regent.

By the second the king of *France* made himself debtor to the king of *England* for eighteen hundred thousand seven hundred thirty six crowns, each worth eight and thirty *French* pennies, payable at

at certain times. The attorney and sollicitor general of the parliament of *Paris* protested against this treaty in *October*; and their protestations were entred into the private register of the parliament, for the king to make use of at a proper time and place. *A. D.* 1525.

The third treaty, regulated the commerce of the two nations by sea and land; and the queen regent by a separate letter, obliged her self in the name of the king, to pay to the king of *England* the arrears due to *Mary* of *England*, that prince's sister, who was married first to king *Lewis* XII. and afterwards to the duke of *Suffolk*.

In the mean while the emperor consulted in *Spain* upon the manner, how he should behave towards the king of *France*; and the importance of this affair, according as it was seen in different lights, very much divided the opinions of his ministers. Some, as the bishop of *Cosmo* his confessor, thought, that to render the treaty more durable, the conditions required of the king should be but moderate. Others, as the duke of *Alva*, according to his vain and haughty temper, were of opinion, that they should get all that they could of the king; and, that by obliging him to give up several provinces of his kingdom, they should put him into a condition of never being able to undertake any thing again against the interest of the house of *Austria*. The emperor did not declare his thoughts upon these different opinions; but yet it might be perceived, that he seemed more inclined to the duke of *Alva*'s sentiment, than that of the bishop of *Cosmo*. Nothing was then particularly determined; but a fuller consideration of this matter was adjourned till the king of *France* should be brought out of *Italy* into *Spain*, which this prince had desired himself, and to which the emperor had consented.

He came to *Madrid* upon the fourteenth of *August*, and was lodged in the castle, from whence he had the liberty of going out in the day time, well attended, and mounted only upon one mule. The emperor, under pretence that he must hold the states at *Toledo*, was not there when he came, and refused to see him for a long time, deferring, as he said, this interview, which would perplex them both, till they were pretty near agreed upon the conditions of the accommodation. Angleria, Epist. 316.

A. D. 1525.

modation. The king was very much chagrin'd at this; for the principal motive which determined him to propose his being removed into *Spain*, was the hopes of treating with this prince immediately, and finding in him as much candour and sincerity, as he had himself: But at last a grievous fit of sickness which seiz'd upon the king, obliged the emperor to come and see him.

The danger he was in from his distemper, occasioned no less uneasiness in *Spain* than in *France*, and the emperor was in as much pain about him as the queen regent: For if the king had died, that prince lost all the fruit of his victory.

Authony de Vera, *hist of* Charles V. Ibid.

As soon as he was at the chamber door, he discovered himself. The king, as he came towards the bed, began first, and said; *Sir, you are come to see your prisoner.* *No*, reply'd the emperor, *I am come to see my brother and my friend, whom I will set at liberty.* The conversation passed in such compliments as these, without entering upon any subject. When the emperor withdrew, he conjured him to think of nothing but recovering his health, and assured him that it should be at his command to return to his dominions whenever he would.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3. *Collection of treaties by* Leonard, T. 2.

During this, *Margaret* dutchess of *Alençon*, the king's sister, came to *Madrid*. She was charged with the negotiation for the deliverance of that prince, conjointly with *John de Selve*, first president of the parliament of *Paris*, *Francis de Tournon*, archbishop of *Ambrun*, *Gabriel* of *Grammont*, bishop of *Tarbes*, and *Philip Chabot* of *Brion*, who were come to *Madrid* before her.

The success of this negotiation depended very much upon the turn that the affairs of *Italy* would take, where there never were more intrigues than upon this occasion. The pope, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, being persuaded that the emperor would get possession of that dutchy, and considering that as he was at the same time master of the kingdom of *Naples*, he was going to bring all *Italy* under the yoke, projected an alliance between them into which *France* was to enter. *Jerom Morone*, chancellor of the dutchy of *Milan*, whose ability and management, ever since the beginning of the king's reign, had been

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the chief ſpring of the ſeveral revolutions which had happened, propoſed an expedient which would have entirely diſconcerted the emperor's affairs in *Italy*, if it had not been diſcovered by the very perſon who had the moſt intereſt in the execution of it. It was this, that by means of the alliance, they ſhould take the kingdom of *Naples* from the emperor, and give that to the marquis of *Peſcara*. *A. D.* 1525.

This deſign was not chimerical. The marquis of *Peſcara* was the richeſt and moſt powerful lord of the kingdom of *Naples*. The emperor had given him ſeveral occaſions for diſſatisfaction, notwithſtanding that he had juſt declared him general of his troops in *Italy*. This office gave him an opportunity of putting theſe troops into ſeparate quarters, where it would be very eaſy to manage them; and it was by this ſtep that they propos'd to begin. The emperor poſſeſſed the kingdom of *Naples*, contrary to the ancient concordates which had been obſerved to his time; in which it was expreſly declared, that the king of *Naples* ſhould never poſſeſs that crown with that of the empire; and the pope might upon this foundation revoke the inveſtiture of this kingdom, which had been given him. There were hardly any imperial troops in that country, and this project was very like that of the *Sicilian* veſpers in the reign of *Charles* of *Anjou*. Guicciard. l. 16. Capella. l. 5.

The overture of a project of this nature was a very nice matter, both with regard to him who was to make it, and him to whom it was to be made. And therefore chancellor *Morone* prepared the marquis of *Peſcara* for it, with a great deal of precaution, and did not lay it before him till he thought he was well diſpoſed to receive it.

This propoſal ſtartled him at firſt: But when the chancellor had given him a detail of the meaſures they were to take, and of the eaſy methods of execution, he conſented to it, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo; for either out of a principle of honour, or through the difficulty of carrying on ſuch an enterprize, he reſolved ſome time after to diſcover all to the emperor. Chancellor *Morone* was ſeized, and impriſoned in the caſtle of *Pavia*. The marquis of *Peſcara*, under the pretence of this alliance, obliged the duke of *Mi-*

A. D. 1525.

lan to deliver up to him several of his fortified towns, and blocked up the castle of *Milan*, and that of *Cremona*. This marquis died some time after of sickness, not without suspicion of poison, which fell equally upon the *Spaniards*, *Venetians*, and *Romans*. The constable of *Bourbon* was sent in his place into *Italy*, to command there in the emperor's name, with a promise of receiving soon the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan*, which they pretended to confiscate upon the account of the rebellion of duke *Francis Sforce*, as an accomplice in the conspiracy I just now mentioned.

Memoirs of Brantome *in the elogium of the Marquis of* Pescara. Guicciard. L. 16.

By this investiture, which was promised the duke of *Bourbon*, the emperor freed himself from the engagement he had entered into with him, to give him in marriage his sister *Eleanor*, the king of *Portugal*'s widow, whom he now designed for the king, who had lost the queen his wife some time before. This marriage had already been proposed in some conferences, and the king had agreed to it: But this was the easiest article to settle on both sides.

The emperor made such intolerable proposals, that they resolved to break off the negotiation. The dutchess of *Alençon* went from *Madrid*; and to convince the court of *Spain*, that the king was resolved to pass the rest of his life in a prison, rather than do any thing too prejudicial to his kingdom, he gave the dutchess an instrument sign'd with his own hand, by which he transferred the government of the realm to his eldest son *Francis*, the dauphin, and allowed him to be crowned king of *France*.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3.

This step had its effect: The emperor, always uneasy about the affairs of *Italy*, was apprehensive that the queen regent would join with the princes beyond the *Alps*, whom he knew to be very much against him. He grew a great deal milder. He heard at the same time, that *John de Gassion* had got away with the king of *Navarre* out of *Pavia*, having gained his guards by force of money. This made him consider, that a king in this condition has a great many servants whose heads are busy in finding out stratagems for his deliverance. The negotiations were renewed with the marshal *de Montmorenci* and Mr. *de Chabot*; and the king having at last done violence to himself,

Preface to the life of the marshal de Gassion.

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in agreeing to the ceſſion of the dutchy of *Burgundy*, which he had hitherto refuſed, the treaty was concluded. The principal articles of which were theſe: *A. D.* 1525.

That the king ſhould yield to the emperor the dutchy of *Bugundy*, without any reſerve of juriſdiction or homage; and that this country ſhould be delivered to him, as ſoon as the king was returned into *France*.

That the king ſhould renounce, in favour of the emperor, all his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*, the dutchy of *Milan*, the lordſhip of *Genoa*, the county of *Aſt*, and to all ſovereign juriſdiction, which he might pretend to have over the counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and any demeſnes whatever, of which the emperor was in actual poſſeſſion.

That the king ſhould marry *Eleanor*, queen dowager of *Portugal*; that there ſhould be an alliance offenſive and defenſive between the two princes, againſt any perſons who ſhould attack their dominions.

That the king ſhould not aſſiſt the king of *Navarre* in the recovery of that kingdom.

There were beſides ſome other conſiderable articles, but of leſs importance than theſe. This treaty was entirely concluded upon the fourteenth of *January*, in the year 1526. *A. D.* 1526.

The king being informed by preſident *de Selve*, that in two or three hours the treaty would be brought to him to ſign, privately made a legal proteſtation in the preſence of witneſſes and notaries, againſt the violence which was done him, againſt the validity of all pacts, conventions, *&c.* adding moreover, that after he was releaſed, he was reſolved to perform to the emperor all that a king made a fair priſoner of war, reaſonably might and ought to do to him who had taken him.

He was kept at *Madrid* above a month after the ſigning of the treaty. He was contracted to the queen dowager of *Portugal*, and ſet out at laſt upon the ſeventeenth of *February*.

Immediately after the treaty was ſign'd, the marſhal *de Montmorenci* went poſt to carry the news of it to the queen regent, that ſhe herſelf, accompanied with ſome troops, might come as far as *Bayonne* to meet the king, and bring thither the hoſtages to be exchanged for the perſon of that prince.

A. D. 1526. Belcarius, l. 18.

These hostages were *Francis* the dauphin, and *Henry* duke of *Orleans* his brother. The exchange was made upon the middle of the river *Andaye*, which separates the two kingdoms: The king not having either leave or time to express his love to his two children, went from thence to *Bayonne*, where the queen regent and all the court waited for him.

The first thing that he did, was to write to the king of *England* to acknowledge the obligation he lay under to him for having been so instrumental in his deliverance. He assured him, that for the future he would be governed by his advice, with regard to the emperor, and that he should never have a more faithful and devoted friend than him.

Scarce was the king got to *Bayonne*, but an envoy from the viceroy of *Naples* came thither; and being admitted to audience, demanded of that prince in the emperor's name to deliver to him the ratification of the treaty of *Madrid*.

The king told him, that this treaty did not concern his single person, but likewise all his kingdom, and his subjects of the dutchy of *Burgundy* in particular; that for this reason he could not ratify it before he had assembled the estates of his kingdom, and especially those of that dutchy, which he would do immediately; and as soon as he had communicated so important an affair to them, he would send an answer to the emperor. The viceroy understood very well the meaning of this delay. He dispatch'd a courier to his master to give him advice of it, and the two young princes were conducted to *Madrid*.

In the mean time all *Europe* was in expectation which way the king would take in relation to the treaty of *Madrid*. Some envoys came to court from the pope and the *Venetians*, under the appearance of complimenting him upon his deliverance, but in reality, to discover his intentions, and to know whether he was disposed to make an alliance with them for the liberty of *Italy*, and the defence of the duke of *Milan* against the emperor; for that was the point upon which this liberty depended, which could not be maintained if the emperor, who was already master of the kingdom of *Naples*, should also get possession of that dutchy.

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These envoys found the king and the queen very well disposed to hearken to the business of the alliance, which was concluded at *Cognac* on the twenty second of *May*. It was called the *Holy League*, because the pope was at the head of it. *A. D.* 1526.

It was declared in the treaty, that it was made only for the security and liberty of *Italy*; that the emperor, if he would, should be admitted into it upon four conditions; the first was, to deliver up the two sons of *France*, who had been given him for hostages, and be satisfied with a reasonable sum of money for their ransom; the second, to leave the duke of *Milan* in quiet possession of his dominions, as well as the other princes of *Italy*; the third was, not to come into *Italy* to be crowned, but with such a retinue as the pope, the duke of *Milan*, and the republick of *Venice* should think convenient for the security of the country and the dignity of his imperial majesty; the fourth, to pay to the king of *England*, the sums he had owed him by several treaties which he had made with that prince.

By this treaty the county of *Asi* was to be returned to the king as well as the seignory of *Genoa*, the government of which was to be regulated in such manner as was proper to preserve the security of *Italy*.

They settled the number of troops which the confederates were to furnish for the land and sea service, and the king of *England* was declared the protector of the holy league. All this was done at the time that the viceroy of *Naples*, who had been sent back to the king by the emperor, was at court.

The affair continued secret till *June*, when the deputies of the states of the dutchy of *Burgundy* came to *Cognac* to make their remonstrances to the king against the article of the treaty of *Madrid*, which subjected them to the emperor. Their audience was publick, and the viceroy was present at it. They declared to the king, that the dismembring of the dutchy of *Burgundy* was contrary to his coronation oath; that if he persisted in it, they would appeal to the states-general of the kingdom; and that if the states did not do them justice, they would endeavour to defend themselves, and that they would all sooner die than be put under a foreign dominion. *Annals of France.*

The king having heard them, gave them his answer,

A. D. 1526. swer, and thanked them for the affection they shewed to his person and the interest of the crown. He desired them pretty coldly, to have some regard to the engagements he had entered into with the emperor. They reply'd, that saving the respect which they owed to his majesty, they would not obey him in a point wherein he could not command them, and in which the interest of the kingdom was so highly concerned.

The viceroy, who saw very well that they were amusing him, address'd himself to the king, and said, That supposing the refusal of the *Burgundians*, his majesty had but one method to take, not to break his royal word, which was to return to his prison in *Spain*, as king *John* had returned to his prison in *England*, to give satisfaction for less infractions than this, which his subjects had made upon the treaty concluded with *Edward* III.

To this the king reply'd, That there was too much difference between the treatment he had received at *Madrid*, and that which *Edward* gave king *John*: That *Edward* had treated his prisoner like a king; but that he had been used in *Spain* in a manner hardly tolerable for a common gentleman: That he had several times protested, in the presence of the emperor's ministers, against the injustice of the demands which were made upon him: That as for the rest, to shew how much he was disposed to satisfy the emperor to the utmost of his power, he offered him for the release of the two princes, his children, two millions of crowns, instead of the dutchy of *Burgundy*.

The *Spaniards* withdrew, without saying any thing more; and were very much surprized, when, some days after, there was published, in their presence, the league made between the pope, the king of *France*, the king of *England*, the *Venetians*, the *Swiss*, and the *Florentines*, to restore liberty to *Italy*, and put *Francis Sforce* in possession of the dutchy of *Milan*. After having been spectators of this disagreeable scene, they took leave of the king; and the prince of *Orange*, who was already advanced to the frontiers of *Burgundy*, of which the emperor had given him the government, retired into *Franche Comté*.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3.

While all this happened, the affairs of the duke of *Milan* grew worse and worse; for not having taken care

care to furnish his castle with provisions, he was obliged to capitulate, and surrender the place to the duke of *Bourbon*, who was just arrived from *Spain*, not being able to come before, because the ships, which were to carry him to *Italy*, were a long time fitting out. The duke of *Milan* retreated to *Lodi*, which the duke of *Urbino* had surprized some days before, and staid there, having had advice that the *Imperialists* intended to seize him. *A. D.* 1526.

The troops of the confederates came together, though slowly, and began to enter upon action. The pope did not succeed in the attack of *Sienne*, from whence he proposed to drive the *Imperialists*. The duke of *Urbino* made the enemy raise the siege of *Valencia*. *Peter Navarre*, with the *French* fleet, had made himself master of *Savona*. *Andrew Doria*, who was come over to the pope's service, had seized upon *Porto Hercolé*, and *Telamoné*, and *John Paul*, son of *Rencio-Ceres*, had surprized *Orbitello*. The castle of *Cremona* held out still for the duke of *Milan*, but the town was in the possession of the *Imperialists*. *Malateſta Baglioni*, who had besieged it several days, lost a great many men before it, and made but slow advances; but the duke of *Urbino* having received a reinforcement of thirteen thousand *Swiss*, pushed the siege himself, and, after several assaults, vigorously sustained, he obliged the place to surrender. Guicciardin. l. 17.

The emperor on his side, sent a great many troops into *Italy*, and acted no less effectually under hand, by his intrigues; one of which broke out at this time in a strange manner, and had like to have ruined the pope.

The *Colonna's*, partisans of the emperor, committed a great many devastations in the country about *Rome*, and in *Rome* itself. There was sometime since an accommodation made between them and the pope, who, upon the faith of this treaty thought he had nothing to fear from them; but they had concluded it only to amuse him. They surprized *Rome*; and the pope being taken unawares, was forced to save himself in the castle of *St. Angelo*.

Hugh of *Moncade*, who, notwithstanding the war continued at *Rome* with his permission, came to him, intimidated him, and made him sign a truce of four

A. D. 1526. months with the emperor. By vertue of this truce he was obliged to make the troops which he had in the country about *Milan* to repass the *Po*, and send his galleys into his ports; which disconcerted the business of the league, by preventing the blockade of *Milan*, and an enterprize which they had formed upon *Genoa*.

The pope observed the truce no longer than till he had got some troops which could put him in a condition of acting. As soon as he had them, he took several places from the *Colonna*'s, and razed the walls of them; but had soon another greater occasion for uneasiness.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3. The duke of *Bourbon* was in the same perplexity, which was common to all the emperor's generals; he did not want for troops, but he had no money to pay them with. This made him resolve to let them live upon the enemy's country; and especially upon the ecclesiastical state, if he could penetrate so far. This was a pretty bold undertaking: For it was then winter; there was a great number of rivers to pass, several towns of the enemy's in the way, and the troops of the confederates would not fail to be at his heels.

He left the care of the *Milaneze* to *Anthony de Leve*, and took the field without declaring his design. He had a march of several months to go, and was more perplexed in governing his troops, which had neither money nor provisions, and were very ill cloathed, than in fighting the enemy. He rewarded the soldiers with the plunder of several small towns, and promised them better booty, without acquainting them as yet, with the place whither he would lead them.

As soon as they were got beyond *Florence*, they saw very well that he was carrying them to *Rome*, and they looked upon all their past fatigues as nothing. In the mean while, the pope seeing the duke of *Bourbon* continually advancing, had concluded a new truce for eight months with the viceroy of *Naples*, and had engaged him to write to that prince to hinder him from breaking it, and make him halt: But, whether it was that the viceroy did not act sincerely in this affair, or whether the duke of *Bourbon* could not do otherwise, without exposing himself to be murdered

by

by his ſoldiers, for deceiving them in their hopes, he continued his march. He made himſelf maſter of *Viterbo*, and upon the twenty fifth of *May* he encamped in the meadows about *Rome*. *A. D.* 1527.

The ſame day he ſent a trumpet to demand a paſſage through *Rome*, in order to continue, as he ſaid, his march to the kingdom of *Naples*; and upon the refuſal which was made him, next morning, by break of day, he offered the ſcalado to the fauxbourg of the *Vatican*, on the ſide of the *Mount of the Holy Ghoſt*.

It was in that place, and at this moment, that his ill fortune waited for him: For, at the beginning of the aſſault, as he was leaning upon a ladder againſt the wall, he received a ſhot from an arquebuſs, which wounded him in the thigh. Being knocked down with the blow, and finding himſelf grow weak, he ordered a *Gaſcon* captain, whoſe name was *Jonas*, to carry him to the camp, and to cover him with a night-gown, for fear his people, being frighted at his death, ſhould quit the aſſault. He was no ſooner got thither but he expired at the age of thirty eight years, without leaving any iſſue. He was a prince whoſe misfortune was equal to his merit, and whoſe death would have been leſs fatal and more glorious for him, if he had not been at the ſame time fighting againſt the holy ſee, and his own king.

In the mean while the prince of *Orange*, who took the command, carried on the aſſault, in which the ſoldiers who were more animated than diſcouraged at the death of their general, ſhewed a valour that came up to fury. At laſt, after two hours fight, they ſtormed the wall of the fauxbourg, and purſuing the enemy cloſe at their heels, entered with them pell-mell into the city.

The pope, inſtead of going out of *Rome*, and retiring to ſome fortreſs of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, as ſeveral adviſed him, made his eſcape into the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where there was but little ammunition, and was a witneſs of the frightful devaſtations which the conquerors made. They cannot be better expreſſed, than by ſaying, as thoſe who relate the particulars conclude, that they exceeded the ravages, deſolation, and cruelty of the barbarians, when this capital of the world formerly fell under their power.

The

A. D. 1527. The prince of *Orange* immediately invested the castle of *St. Angelo*, for fear the pope should get out of his hands; and dispatched couriers to the emperor to give him notice of all that had passed.

This prince upon the news of the condition to which the pope was reduced, acted his part better even than he did when he heard of the king of *France*'s imprisonment. He put off the rejoicings which were preparing for the birth of his son don *Philip:* He went into mourning, ordered processions to be made, to implore god's mercy upon the misfortunes of the church, and pretended to shew all the signs of the most sensible affliction.

Those which the king of *France* and *England* expressed, were more sincere: And tho' it was much more difficult for them, than the emperor, to remedy the pope's misfortune, for he had nothing to do but to send an order for him to be set at liberty, they took the best measures, to procure it for him.

Collection of treaties by Leonard, T. 2. Du Tillet *Collection of Treaties with* England. These two princes had renewed their last treaties, and concluded a new one at *Westminster* upon the thirtieth of *April*, some days before the taking of *Rome*, by the articles of which they were both to send an ambassador to the emperor, to require him to deliver up the king's two sons, taking for their ransom the two millions of crowns which had been already offered him, and to pay the king of *England* the great sums which he owed him; and, in case he refused, they were resolved to declare war against him: But when the two kings heard the news of the taking of *Rome*, they made more haste than ever to act: To this purpose cardinal *Wolsey* crossed the sea, and came to the king at *Amiens*, and the marshal of *Montmorenci* was sent to the court of *England*. Bellay. *l.* 3.

The two princes, according to the treaty of *Westminster*, sent each an ambassador into *Spain* to the emperor, to declare to him the intentions of their masters. But before I speak of the success of this embassy, I must resume the account of what passed at *Rome*, and in the neighbouring country, after the siege was formed before the castle of *St. Angelo*.

The army of the confederates had begun to march, as soon as they found that the duke of *Bourbon* was advancing towards *Rome:* But they could not come up

up before it was taken, which the generals knew nothing of till four days after. They appeared within sight of *Rome*; and they debated, whether they should attack the *Imperialists*, in order to deliver the pope: But the duke of *Urbino*, who commanded the *Venetian* troops, proposed so many difficulties against this design, that the negative was resolved on. It is pretended, that his hatred of the pope and the house of *Medicis*, founded upon *Leo* X. his having deprived him of his dominion of *Urbino*, was the principal motive of his behaviour upon this, and other occasions, during this campaign. And thus the army having shewed it self to the pope a little way off of *Rome*, removed farther, upon the first of *June*, and left him out of all hopes of being set at liberty, exposed to the plague, which was among the garrison, and raged very much in *Rome* and the *Imperial* army. *A. D.* 1527.

The pope seeing himself thus forsook, treated with the viceroy of *Naples*. The siege of the castle of *St. Angelo* was raised, upon condition, that the pope should pay four hundred thousand ducats to maintain the *Imperial* army, and should yield to the emperor several places belonging to the territories of the church: But though he was no longer besieged, yet he was still kept prisoner in the castle of *St. Angelo*, till the execution of the treaty, which was impossible for him to perform.

During these transactions marshal *de Lautrec* came with part of the *French* army into the *Milaneze*, and put fresh courage into the confederates. As *Anthony de Léve*, who commanded there for the emperor, had but few troops, the marshal, as soon as he had all his, made a considerable progress: He took *Alexandria*, and afterwards *Pavia*, *Biagrassa*, *Vigavano*, and all *Omelini*. But the most important of his conquests was that of *Genoa*, which was surrendred to him, with the castle, and of which he made marshal *Theodore Trivulca* the governor. Guicciard. l. 18. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 3.

After the taking of these places, they consulted, whether they should go and besiege *Milan*. The duke and the *Venetians* were of this opinion, and gave good reasons for it: But *Lautrec* had other orders, and excused himself; for that his chief orders were to go as soon, as he could, and procure the pope's releasement

A. D. 1527. leasement, and that this was the intention of the king and the king of *England*. He brought off the duke of *Ferrara*, and the marquis of *Mantua*, from the emperor's party, which was a matter of no small consequence, and he made the most of it to the confederates.

Whatever forwardness he might shew for setting the pope at liberty, he marched but very slowly: It was thought that he had orders to act thus, till it was seen what turn the negotiation in *Spain* would take; but as slow as he was in his march, it is certain that he hastened the pope's deliverance: For the viceroy of *Naples* dying during these transactions, and *Hugh* of *Moncade*, who by his death had the care of all the affairs upon his hands, being apprehensive, that if the *French* army should advance as far as *Rome*, they would fall upon the kingdom of *Naples*, agreed with the pope as fast as he could, according to the orders he had received from the emperor.

The pope obliged himself not to declare against the emperor, and to pay a large sum of money before he went out of the castle of *St. Angelo*, which he raised by the alienation of some church lands, and other methods. The day of his releasement was fixed to the ninth of *November*; but as he was still afraid, lest *Moncade* should play him some trick, he went the night before out of the castle of *St. Angelo*, disguised like a merchant, and retired to *Orvieto*. He wrote from thence to the marshal of *Lautrec*, to thank him for his liberty which he had procured him, being very well persuaded, that if the *Imperialists* had not been afraid of the *French* army, they would not have released him.

The marshal being acquainted with this news, thought it would be best to proceed no farther, by reason of the winter. He returned *Parma* and *Placentia*, which he had made himself master of, into the hands of the officers of the church, went to *Bolonia*, and quartered his troops in this place and the neighbouring country, allowing them to rest for some weeks, till he went upon the expedition to *Naples*, which was in his head.

The

The negotiations, which during this time were carrying on in *Spain*, came to nothing. Every thing depended upon these three points. The first was, the pope's liberty; the second was the offer which was made the emperor of two millions of crowns, for the ransom of the two sons of *France*; and the third was, the payment of the money due from the emperor to the king of *England*. *A. D.* 1527.

The ambassadors of *France* and *England* finding that they were only amused to draw things out into a length, desired leave of the emperor to depart, which this prince granted them.

Afterwards two heralds, who were in the ambassadors retinue, cloathed in the habit of their office, did, upon the twenty second of *January*, declare war in form against the emperor, who, after having heard it, gave each of them a writing, which was a kind of manifesto. *An.* 1528. *Verbal process of the intimation of the war*, &c.

He expressed a great deal of anger against *Henry* VIII. and cardinal *Wolsey*, in that which was given to the *English* herald; he gave them to understand, that he was acquainted with *Henry* VIII's design, of being divorced from his wife, *Catherine* of *Arragon*; and he bid the *French* herald by word of mouth, tell his master, that he had broken his word; and that when he would, *he would assert it to his face*, that is, in single combat. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 3. Anthony de Vera, Hist. de Charles V.

This message was brought to the king by the herald: He accepted the duel; and in a writing which he caused to be read before the emperor's ambassador, when he took his leave, he gave the lie to *Charles* V. in express terms. This reciprocal challenge was attended with no consequence. The counsellors of the two princes persuaded them, that all the rules of prudence forbad them to proceed to this extremity.

The greatest stress of the war lay in *Italy*, where the *French* army was already all gone and joined with the troops of the allies. That of the emperor was very much diminished by the plague: The untowardness of the *Germans*, who mutinied upon every occasion for want of pay, hindered their generals from taking measures to oppose the designs of the league; and the emperor had lost the kingdom of *Naples*, if the irresolution of the pope, and the particular interests of

A. D. 1528. of the allies, had not prevented the marshal of *Lautrec* from acting with so much vigour as he might otherwise have done.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3. This general quitted his quarters in the *Bolonese*, and marched with an army of twenty eight thousand infantry, excellent troops. He had a much smaller number of gendarmery and light horse. He took his rout towards the sea, leaving the *Apennine* mountains on the right, and came about the end of *February* to the frontiers of *Abruzzo*. He went from thence into the *Capitanate*. Nothing opposed him; and he had had no more to do but to run through the kingdom to conquer it, if *Philbert* of *Châlons*, prince of *Orange*, had not at last with a great deal of difficulty, engaged the *Imperial* army to leave *Rome*, and march to its succour.

Lautrec, notwithstanding his conquests, found himself embarrassed for want of money; and this determined him to use all his efforts to bring the enemy to a battle as soon as possible: But general *Alarcon*, who commanded the *Spanish* troops, always avoided it, and chose rather to lose a great many places than hazard a fight, being in hopes that the *French* army would disperse before his. He had no more than *Manfredonia* left in the *Capitanate*, and nothing in *Abruzzo*.

The marshal after these conquests turned towards *Naples*. *Moncade*, who had some time ago received letters patents for viceroy, finding himself not able to keep the field, thought of nothing but defending the capital of the kingdom, and *Gaietta*. He entered *Naples* with the prince of *Orange*, and left the defence of *Gaietta* to *Alarcon*.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3. Guicciard. l. 18. The *French* army met with no resistance in the neighbouring towns to *Naples*. All opened their gates to it; and it appeared within sight of *Naples* upon the first day of *May*, according to *Bellay*, and the twenty ninth of *April*, according to *Guicciardin*.

The taking of this capital was the decisive stroke for the king. Whilst that held out, the succours which the emperor sent would always be to be feared, and one single misfortune was enough to make affairs take a different turn, as had so many times happen'd, as well in this kingdom as in the *Milaneze*. The Viceroy had taken with him into the town ten thousand of the emperor's best troops; and this made them

them deliberate, whether they ſhould only blockade the place till the heats were gone off, or whether they ſhould encamp before it, and attack it. After they had conſidered the reaſons for both ſides, the laſt was reſolved on: And in the mean while *Philippin Doria*, with eight galleys, of his uncle *Andrew Doria*, and two large ſhips, had orders to block up the port. They ſollicited the *Venetians* to ſend their fleet hither; but they were employing that, too uſefully for themſelves, in the attack of *Pulignano*, *Otranto*, *Brunduſium*, and other ports, which were to belong to them after the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. *A. D.* 1528.

All the application of the beſieged was to get proviſions into the town, where there were but very few. Some barks crep'd down in the night, and ſlipp'd thro' *Doria*'s fleet. Cavalry often went out, and returned with ſacks of corn, which the people of *Gaietta* brought to places near the camp, marſhal *de Lautrec* not having troops enough to ſtop all the paſſages: But theſe ſmall ſuccours were a trifle to ſo populous a city as *Naples*. They muſt have the ſea free, or ſoon reſolve to capitulate.

The viceroy in this view watched all opportunities of ſurpriſing *Philippin Doria*'s fleet. He thought he had found a favourable one, having been informed, that that admiral was gone to *Salernum* to refit it, and that his ſoldiers often left it to go and walk in the *French* camp. He privately equipped all his gallies, and ſeveral foiſts, embarked himſelf with the choice of his garriſon, and ſailed towards that ſide.

The marſhal of *Lautrec* had been acquainted with this deſign. He had given *Doria* advice of it, and ſent him ſome troops. The *Imperialiſts* found him well prepared. A bloody battle was fought, and the fleet of *Naples* was defeated. There were near a thouſand *Spaniards* killed. The viceroy himſelf died during the fight of a ſhot of an arquebuſs, which wounded him in the arm. All the foiſts were taken, with three gallies, and two other gallies were ſunk.

This defeat ſtruck *Naples* with a conſternation, where the prince of *Orange* had a great deal of difficulty to keep up their Spirits: For by the death of the viceroy, the defence of the place devolved upon him.

He

A. D. 1528. He behaved himself with all possible courage and conduct. He continued to make brisk sallies, which were very frequent for three months that the siege lasted. Notwithstanding this he must have sunk, scarcity and the plague making great havock in the garrison, if the besiegers had been able to have continued the siege; but their condition was still worse than that of the besieged.

Guicciard. l. 19. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 3. The army was infected with diseases, which turned to the plague; and it is said, that it was brought into the camp by some people from *Naples*, who were sent expressly for this purpose: So that at the end of *July*, of twenty five thousand foot soldiers, of which the army was composed when the siege began, there were but four thousand fit for fighting, and of eight hundred gendarms, there were not one hundred left. *Lautrec* himself was seized with a contagious disease, which made him incapable of giving the necessary orders, not only for carrying on the siege, but likewise for the security of the camp.

The prince of *Orange* made good use of this confusion. He was continually wearying the camp with sallies; the convoys passed unmolested, and the works did not advance.

But what compleated the ruin of all, was the treachery of *Andrew Doria*, who left the *French* service, and went over to the emperor's side. Some slights which he pretended to have received from the Court of *France*, were the pretences or reasons for his desertion: And as soon as he had concluded his treaty with the emperor, he sent orders to *Philippin Doria*, his nephew, to leave the entrance into the port of *Naples* free and open, and several frigates which lay ready, immediately supplied the city with provisions.

And lastly marshal *de Lautrec* being relapsed into his disease by extraordinary fatigues, died in the night between the fifteenth and sixteenth of *August*. He was one of the best officers there was at that time in *France*, but his haughtiness, his pride, and presumption, rendered him incapable of hearkening to advice; faults, which made him commit very great mistakes in several of his expeditions.

The

The death of the general, whose authority alone kept up the courage of the officers and soldiers, was soon followed with the raising of the siege. The marquis of *Saluzzo*, who had now the command of the army, having called a council of war, in which this resolution was taken, prepared for the execution of it. *A. D.* 1528.

The retreat was made in good order. *Peter Navarre* who commanded the rear, repulsed the enemy; but he was taken in the fight, and died some time after at *Naples*. The marquis of *Saluzzo* retired to *Aversa*, with the troops which he had left. He was besieged in that place, and wounded with a blow of a stone which broke his knee. His wound and the discouragement of the soldiers obliged him to submit to a capitulation as dishonourable as it was necessary. He continued a prisoner of war. The *French* officers and soldiers had leave to go to *France*, leaving all their standards and colours behind them. The *Swiss* by one of the articles were to return home. The *Italians* by another, obliged themselves not to serve against the emperor for six months; and the marquis of *Saluzzo* was to do all that lay in his power to oblige all the governors of the places taken either by the *French*, or the allies, to surrender; but most of them refused to stand to this capitulation.

The loss of *Genoa* followed that of *Naples*. *Andrew Doria*, who was very powerful in that city, made it revolt. Marshal *Theodore Trivulca* retired into the castle with some soldiers, and was obliged to surrender about the end of *October* for want of provisions. *Savona* was also delivered up through the cowardice of the commander of *Moreta*, who was governor of it. Thus every thing succeeded to the emperor's mind. Bellay, l. 3.

Things went no better in the *Milanese*. *Anthony de Leve* surprized *Pavia*, made himself master of *Biagrassa*, and took *Pescara* and *Mortara*; but he was forced to raise the siege of *Lodi*, through the vigorous resistance of *John-Paul Sforce*, bastard brother to the duke of *Milan*.

The count of *St. Pol* being come up with a reinforcement from *France*, and being joined by the *Venetian* army, retook *Pavia*, and *Biagrassa*, made

A. D. 1528. himself master of *Cosmo*, and some other places; and obliged *Anthony de Leve* to retire into *Milan*, where this general had laid up very great magazines. With this the campaign ended in the *Milaneze*, and the troops on both sides were put into winter-quarters.

So fatal a war, the advantages and disadvantages of which were not yet great enough on either side to secure the event, began to tire both princes, and make them hearken more readily to the peaceable counsels, which *Margaret* of *Austria*, governess of the *Netherlands*, on the one hand, gave the emperor her nephew; and the queen regent, on the other, the king her son. Upon this they both signified their intentions to the pope by their envoys in the beginning of the following year; and the city of *Cambray* was pitch'd upon for the conferences which were to begin at the end of *May*.

Du Bellay, l. 3.

A. D. 1529.

There was not, however, any suspension of arms; but they fought warmly, though but with few troops, both in the kingdom of *Naples* and the *Milaneze*, the *Venetians* assisting the *French* in those two extremities of *Italy*. The advantages were pretty equal on both sides in the kingdom of *Naples*; but the case was not the same in the *Milaneze*.

The count of *St. Pol* having retaken *Mortara*, left the *Venetian* troops and those of the duke of *Milan*, to prevent provisions getting into that capital, and set out for *Genoa*, where he had a correspondence. He left *Marignan* to pass the river at *Landriano*, which was under the walls of that city. He sent over his vanguard, which marched to *Pavia*, and staid with the rest to weigh up a piece of artillery, which was buried at the bottom of the river. This delay gave *Anthony de Leve*, who was following him, time to come up with him. This general attacked him, routed him, and took him prisoner.

The van being in the mean time arriv'd at *Pavia*, heard there of the defeat of this count. This news so confounded the soldiers, that they began to desert by companies, and in a little time there were hardly any *French* soldiers in the *Milaneze*.

When this rout happened, they were preparing at *Cambray* for holding the conferences about the peace. It was treated between *Margaret* of *Austria* and the queen

queen regent, who both very much desired it; and for this reason this peace was called the *Ladies Peace*. It was concluded on the third of *August*, upon the plan of the treaty of *Madrid*, but with a great many alterations. *A. D.* 1529.

The emperor desisted from the article of the dutchy of *Burgundy*, without prejudicing any right which he might have to it, reserving to himself a power of maintaining it when he should think proper, but only by methods of law and justice.

In consideration of this, the king obliged himself to pay the emperor two millions of crowns, as a ransom for the two princes his sons. He promised to withdraw his soldiers which he still had in *Italy*, to surrender the town and castle of *Hedin*, to renounce all rights of jurisdiction, authority, and sovereignty over the counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, all his rights to the city of *Arras*, *Tournay*, *St. Amand*, *Mortagne*, and the redemption of the towns and castles of *Lisle*, *Doüay*, and *Orchies*.

The emperor, on his side, renounced all the right he might have to the territories possessed by the king of *France*.

The treaty of marriage between *Eleanor*, queen dowager of *Portugal*, the emperor's eldest sister, and the king, was confirmed according to the tenour of the treaty of *Madrid*; and this princess was to go into *France* at the same time that the king's two sons came back again.

There was a particular article for reviving the honour of the late constable of *Bourbon*, and for returning the estates, which he had possessed, to his heirs.

There was no mention made of the *Venetians* who were allies of *France*, but in the article in which the king promised to require them to yield to the emperor the maritime towns in the kingdom of *Naples*, which they had taken. This made *Andrew Gritti* tell the doge, that the city of *Cambray* was the purgatory of the *Venetians*, in which the emperors and the kings of *France* made them expiate the faults they had committed in allying with them. He alluded not only to this treaty, but likewise to the league which was made in the same place, between the emperor *Maximilian* and king *Lewis* XII. for the destruction of that

A. D. 1529. republick. The king, in reality, could not say much against the justice of their complaints, but he was absolutely resolved to get his two sons out of the emperor's hands.

As to the pope, he had already made a separate peace with the emperor, upon as advantageous conditions as if that prince had had the worst of the war in *Italy*.

As to the king of *England*, he accommodated himself to the king's views, whose assistance would be hereafter necessary to him in the great noise which was just made upon the account of his divorce from his wife, *Catherine* of *Arragon*, the emperor's aunt, from whom he wanted to be separated, by having his marriage declared null, that he might marry *Ann Bullen*, with whom he was passionately in love. The affair lay before the tribunal of the holy see; and it was by calling it up thither, that the pope obtained the great advantages of the emperor which I just mentioned. The king of *England* even lent the king money to pay part of the ransom of the two young princes, and dispositions were beginning to be made for the journey to *Bayonne*, where they were to be received in the following *March*, the term fixed for their deliverance.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 3.

In the mean while the emperor came to *Genoa* with an army. The *Venetians* were forced to surrender the ports in the kingdom of *Naples*. The pope obtained this prince's pardon for the duke of *Milan*, to whom the emperor continued the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan*, upon condition that this duke should let him have the castle of that place, and the city of *Cosmo*, till he paid a large sum of money which he demanded of him.

The *Florentines* were the only people who refused to submit to, and receive the *Medicis* whom they had driven away; so that they must be besieged, and the siege lasted eleven months. *Philibert* of *Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, was killed at it. But at length it was necessary to submit to the law of the strongest. The taking of this place put an end to the liberty of the republick. The emperor ordered that *Alexander de Medicis*, who had married his natural daughter, and was the pope's nephew, should be the governor of

of the republick, with a right of transmitting it by succession to his descendants and collateral relations; and this is the origin of the grandeur and power which at this day belongs to the great duke of *Tuscany*. *A. D.* 1529.

The marshal *de Montmorenci*, who was then in the highest degree of favour, was pitched upon to go and receive the two princes and the queen dowager of *Portugal*, upon the frontiers of *Spain*. He was at *Bayonne* upon the tenth of *March*; but the ransom was not paid, and the princes delivered, till towards the end of *June*. *A. D.* 1530.

The king being advised of it, went from *Bourdeaux* to meet them and his new spouse, which he did in an abbey between *Roquehort de Marçan* and *Captieux*. There was all the joy on both sides that can be imagined. The next morning, an hour before day, the king married queen *Eleanor*.

Afterwards they set out for *Paris*. They went to *St. Germain en Laye* till every thing was prepared for the coronation of the queen at *St. Denis*, and for her entry into the capital. These two ceremonies were performed with that magnificence which was common to *Francis* I. and with that joy which followed the conclusion of a war that had cost so many valiant men, and so much money, and had raised so many alarms in the kingdom.

The king made a serviceable use of the peace, by taking that opportunity to reform a great many disorders which had crept into the kingdom, during the long wars which he had had to maintain. He applied himself earnestly to the reviving of the sciences, which had for a long time been very much neglected. It was not after this, as it had been before, a sort of shame for a gentleman to understand *Latin*, or know any thing else than how to manage a sword and an horse; and it was this that gained his majesty the glorious title of *Restorer of Learning in France*, which will always be an honour to him, to the latest posterity. *A. D.* 1531.

While he was employed in this sort of business, which was proper for peace, he lost his mother *Louisa* of *Savoy*, a woman of a great genius for the management of state-affairs. The kingdom was just before

A. D. 1531. indebted to her for the peace of *Cambray*, which gave the people leave to recover themselves by the repose of some years; but by this treaty she only remedied the mischief she had done her self, without making amends for the double loss of *Milan*, of which she had been the cause, through her hatred to the marshal of *Lautrec*, and the constable of *Bourbon*; so that the great praises which are given her by the learned historian of *Savoy*, will never make her memory dear or precious to the kingdom of *France*.

Guichenon *History of the House of Savoy.*

A. D. 1532. The most important affair which the king concluded after the death of that princess, was the union of the dutchy of *Brittany* to the crown, about which he had often had conferences with her. It was a difficult point, notwithstanding the donations made by dutchess *Anne* to *Charles* VIII. and *Lewis* XII. and by the late queen *Claudia* to *Francis* I. himself. There were some clauses in those contracts, which might occasion contests. Several expedients were proposed in council to prevent all the difficulties and inconveniences which there was reason to apprehend; and the king took a journey into *Brittany* on purpose upon this account.

As soon as he was come thither, chancellor *du Prat* communicated to *Lewis des Deserts*, president of the parliament of that province, the measures which they intended to take to bring this great affair about. The president, who was a very understanding man, after having heard the chancellor, and read all the papers, said, that they did not take the right method, and that there was but one way to put an end to all difficulties, which was to get the states of *Brittany* to petition the king for the union of that dutchy to the crown of *France*.

The chancellor answered, that this was undoubtedly the shortest and most certain way; but, added he, *Can you answer for the success? and do you think it will be possible to bring the states to make this petition?*

The president, who knew very well the way of managing states, assur'd him, that with a little contrivance and patience the business might be brought about. The methods which he proposed were approved and followed; and the states, after the opposition

sition of some of the members, who were brought over to the opinion of the rest, petitioned the king themselves for the union of *Brittany* to the crown. *A. D.* 1532.

So agreeable a request was easily granted, and the instrument of union immediately drawn up. After the happy conclusion of an affair so advantageous to the security and quiet of the kingdom, the king returned to *Paris*; and as he foresaw he should not be long without being obliged to be concerned in the commotion which *Germany* and *England* were in at that time, he began to prepare every thing for the execution of the project he had formed of a new soldiery.

The strength of the *French* armies, even since the great reformation which *Charles* VII. made in the troops, lay chiefly in the gendarmery. As for the infantry, the greatest part of it consisted of foreigners, *Swiss*, and lansquenets. *Lewis* XII. began to discipline some *French* infantry much more than his predecessors, and *Francis* I. followed his example: But this prince, that he might make himself independant of foreigners, whose unfaithfulness or caprice had several times ruin'd his affairs, resolved to raise a large number of infantry, and to divide them into seven or eight bodies, which he formed upon the model of the *Roman* legions, and would have them called by the same name.

Every legion was to consist of six thousand men. *Normandy*, *Brittany*, *Picardy*, *Burgundy* were each to furnish one; *Champagne* and *Viennois* a fifth between them; *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, *Lyonnois*, and *Auvergne* the sixth; *Languedoc* the seventh, besides that which was to be raised in *Guyenne*, to defend the towns upon that frontier. Some were raised, the rest were not; and this began to be executed in the year 1533. *Europe* was pretty quiet till 1536, when the war was renewed upon the occasion I am going to relate, which obliges me to go back to the year 1531; for the fire was a long time kindling, before it broke out. *Annals of France, L. 6. A. D.* 1533.

Luther had already infected great part of *Germany*, and several princes, with his errors; and among others *John* duke and elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip Landgrave* of *Hesse*. There had been an union made between the emperor and the catholick princes of *Germany* to

A. D. 1533. maintain their religion, and an imperial decree was publiſhed, by which the exerciſe of any other religion but the catholick was forbidden in the empire.

The elector and the landgrave ſaw very well, that they ſhould ſoon have the emperor and moſt of the other princes of *Germany* upon them. For which reaſon they reſolved to look out for ſome aſſiſtance againſt a power that would cruſh them, if they were not ſtrongly ſupported.

They propoſed to get the kings of *France* and *England* on their ſide. The motive of religion was more likely to make the king of *France* refuſe, than engage him, to come into their intereſt: For this prince was a ſincere catholick, and had even already made ſevere examples of ſome innovators who had crept into the kingdom, and had been ſurprized. They took therefore another method.

There had been held at *Smalcald*, a town in the county of *Hennemberg*, an aſſembly of princes of the proteſtant party, where, in order to put themſelves into a condition of oppoſing the catholick league, they had made one among themſelves, and with the *Lutheran* towns. It was from hence that they ſent a deputation to the two kings, to deſire their protection.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 4. The reaſons which their envoys urged to the king were founded upon the antient treaties of *France* with the empire, by vertue of which they aſſerted, that our kings were obliged to maintain the liberties and privileges of the latter. They inſiſted that the emperor had violated them upon ſeveral occaſions, and particularly, that the election of *Ferdinand* the emperor's brother, to be king of the *Romans*, was contrary to the *Golden Bull*; that the emperor's adminiſtration manifeſtly intended to deprive all the princes of the empire of that dignity, and to make it hereditary in his own family. They added laſtly, that the juſtice of their cauſe perfectly agreeing with his moſt chriſtian majeſty's eſſential intereſts, which would not allow of new additions to the emperor's power, they hoped he would be pleaſed to join the princes who were zealous for the liberty of the empire, to prevent the conſequences of the emperor's dangerous enterprizes.

Though

Though this was touching the king in his ſenſible part, he was at ſome difficulty to determine. The experience of the paſt wars, of which the king had felt the moſt fatal effects in his own perſon, made him act with deliberation. He gave the envoys only general anſwers, intending before he came to a reſolution, to be better acquainted with the king of *England*'s mind. He ſent Mr. *de Langey* to him, and it was concluded, that he ſhould come over to *Bologne* to have a conference with the king. There was now nothing more to do with cardinal *Wolſey*. This miniſter was diſgraced, and died while preparations were making for his trial. *A. D.* 1533.

The king in the conference at *Bologne* found the king of *England* very much irritated againſt the emperor and the pope, upon the account of the divorce from the queen his wife, which the emperor oppoſed with all his might, and upon which the pope continually deferred to pronounce ſentence.

The king endeavoured to pacify the king of *England*, with regard to the pope, promiſing him, that in an interview which he was ſoon to have with him at *Nice* or *Avignon*, he would ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power; and conjured him not to precipitate matters. On the other hand, he promiſed him to make at leaſt a defenſive alliance with the proteſtant princes of *Germany*, and that which the two kings had already made between them was renewed. This was the reſult of this conference, and the king of *England*'s journey, who returned home.

In the mean while the affairs of *Germany* took a quite different turn from what was expected. As ſoon as the emperor had heard of the defenſive alliance between the king and the princes of *Germany*, he abated very much of his firſt rigour. The aſſurance which he had, that *Solyman* was coming to fall upon *Hungary* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, determined him to come to an accommodation with the *Lutherans*; and notwithſtanding the decree he had publiſhed at the concluſion of the diet of *Augsbourg*, in which he forbad the exerciſe of any other religion but the catholick through all *Germany*, he granted them liberty of conſcience till the general council, which he en-

A. D. 1533. engaged to have called in six months, and opened a year after its being called.

The *Lutherans* having obtained what they aimed at, left off pressing the king to declare for them. They furnished the emperor so speedily with such a number of troops, that he was in a short time upon the frontiers of *Hungary* with an army of near two hundred thousand men. Never was there a campaign that threatened *Europe* with a greater effusion of blood, and never was there a less bloody one. They were afraid of each other on both sides. *Solyman* after having committed some ravages, returned to *Constantinople*; and the emperor looking upon this retreat as a sort of victory, retired on his side, and went soon after into *Italy*.

Guicciard. l. 20. This coming of the emperor into *Italy* disturbed the two kings, because of the interview which he proposed to have with the pope, and which he accordingly had at *Bolonia* about the end of the year 1533. The principal things which he negotiated there, were these three.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 4. The first was the renewing of the league between the princes of *Italy*, against any one who should dare to attack that country, that is, against the king of *France*. The second was the marriage of *Catherine de Medicis*, the pope's niece, to *Francis Sforce* duke of *Milan*, intending by this to engage the pope to do his utmost to hinder the *French* from ever returning into the *Milanese*. The third related to the general council, which he had promised to the protestant princes in the diet of *Nuremberg*.

These propoſals of the emperor very much embarrassed the pope. He laid before him the difficulties which offered upon the calling of a council, and the insignificancy of that means to reduce the protestants; that as they owned no other judge of doctrine but scripture, not acknowledging the infallibility of the council, which they desired only to dispute in it, and not to submit to it, all this would come to nothing. He made, however, as if he approved of the design, but was firmly resolved to prevent the execution of it.

As

A. D. 1533.

As to the marriage of his niece, *Catherine de Medicis*, with the duke of *Milan*, he represented to the emperor, that he was under engagements with the king of *France*, to marry her to *Henry*, that prince's second son; and I did not lay myself under them, added he, till after I had consulted with you your self, and you had given your consent to it. And indeed the emperor had consented to it, thinking it certain that the king made such a proposal to the pope only to amuse him. But he was the dupe in this affair; for the marriage was concluded afterwards, and upon such conditions as would have lost him the *Milaneze*, and very much weakened his power in *Italy*, if the pope had lived somewhat longer.

Lastly, as to the renewing of the league between the princes of *Italy* for the protection of the *Milaneze*, it was done; but the emperor could not obtain two important points which he intended to have added to that treaty. The first, that the *Venetians* should not only declare with the rest of the allies, that they would oppose any one who should attack the *Milaneze* and the kingdom of *Naples*; but likewise, that the city and states of *Genoa* should shut that port against the *French*. They refused it, and kept to the tenour of the first treaty.

The second point was, that the princes of *Italy*, should keep a standing army, that they might always be in a condition of opposing those, who should endeavour to disturb the repose of the country. The princes would not engage themselves in this expence, and they even desired the emperor to withdraw that which he had there; because, whilst it was there, the king of *France* would be sure to have another in the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, for the security of that dominion; and it would be impossible for those two armies to be so near one another, but they must soon come to a rupture.

The emperor, though very much dissatisfied at this conclusion, was forced to agree to it; the more, because he had not wherewith to keep an army at his own expence. He prepared for his return into *Spain*; and set sail upon the eighth of *April*, taking with him Mons. *de Velli*, the *French* ambassador.

The

A. D. 1533. The cardinals *de Tournon* and *de Grammont*, who had been sent to *Rome* to conclude the marriage of *Catherine de Medicis* with *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, obtained another delay upon the business of the king of *England*'s divorce from the queen, and claimed the pope's promise to the king of an interview in *France*. They assured him, that every thing would be transacted there to his holiness's satisfaction, and that ways might perhaps be found out to accommodate the king of *England*'s affair.

The pope, who imagined that without this the marriage of his niece would not be accomplished, confirmed his promise to them; but he desired them to keep the matter secret, till the emperor was got into *Spain*.

Accordingly, as soon as he had received the news of his arrival, he made preparations for his voyage to *France*. The emperor made use of all sorts of methods and contrivances to prevent it, but he could not accomplish his end. The pope went aboard some *French* galleys, and landed at *Marseille* upon the fourth of *October*, in the year 1533, with *Catherine de Medicis* his niece, being thirteen years of age. The king accompanied by his court was there before, together with *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, who was in his sixteenth year. The ceremony of marriage was performed by the pope himself, who stayed at *Marseille* till the twentieth of *November*.

The king, in treating with the pope, would fain have brought him upon the business of the king of *England*'s divorce: But the passion of that prince had carried matters so far, that there were hardly any measures to be taken.

Sanders l. 1. de Schismate Anglicano. Belcar. l. 20. Bellay, l. 4.

He had married *Anne Bullen* in the presence of the father, mother, and brothers of that lady, after having made *Thomas Cranmer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, declare, that the dispensation for his first marriage was null. He had given an account of all this to the king, adding, that he would keep the thing secret, until he knew the success of the conferences with the pope at *Marseille*; but that if it did not prove to be such as he desired, he was resolved to throw off the insupportable yoke of the *Roman* tyranny.

The

The king was ſtartled at this news. Unfortunately the ſecret was not well enough kept in *England*, and the emperor was adviſed of all that was done. The thing being become publick, *Henry* VIII. pulled off the maſk, publickly married *Anne Bullen*, and had her crowned queen of *England*. *A. D.* 1533.

Before this extraordinary ſtep, the pope having been likewiſe informed of this ſcandalous marriage, had pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt *Henry*, not publickly, but in a private conſiſtory. The king of *France* being informed of it, wrote ſome very preſſing letters to the pope, repreſenting to him the conſequences of this proceeding, and the concern which he himſelf had in the king of *England*'s affairs. He uſed his intereſt at the ſame time with that prince. He ſent to him *John du Bellay*, biſhop of *Paris*, who moved him, and having offered him to go to *Rome* to prevent the excommunication's being publiſhed, he conſented to it.

The biſhop rode poſt, and had audience of the pope and cardinals. He prevailed upon them to proceed no farther: But they fixed a time, after which, if they had not a peremptory anſwer from the king of *England*, they would publiſh the excommunication. He diſpatched a courier to that prince, and conjured him not to delay either his anſwer or the return of the courier.

The courier could not make haſte enough, and the next morning after the day appointed, the proceedings were renewed. The biſhop of *Paris* made all imaginable efforts to obtain ſome delay. The moſt moderate of the cardinals were of this opinion; but thoſe of the imperial faction, or thoſe who thought it was not agreeable to the dignity of the holy ſee, to ſuffer it ſelf to be any longer amuſed by the king of *England*, carried it by a majority of voices. The ſentence of excommunication was publiſhed with all the uſual ceremonies upon the twenty fourth of *March*, in the year 1534. *Memoirs of Bellay*, l. 4. *An.* 1534.

Two days after the courier from *England* arrived with ſome propoſals which were probably worthy of being received, ſince the college of cardinals met ſeveral times to endeavour to find a remedy againſt the miſchief which their precipitation had cauſed; but they could

A. D. 1534. could find none. If some delay had been obtained, the terrible consequences which have since been lamented, would not have happened; for some time after *Catherine* of *Arragon*, queen of *England*, died, and might by her death have put an end to this difference.

The king of *England* had no sooner heard of what had passed at *Rome*, and known the indignation of all his kingdom against the pope, but in an assembly of prelates, he publickly renounced, in his own name, and in the name of all *England*, obedience to *Clement*; a renunciation, which was afterwards attended with such fatal consequences.

The pope died the same year, in the fifty sixth year of his age, and the tenth of his pontificate, having nothing more to desire for the raising of his family, and seeing cause to be very apprehensive for the church from infidels and hereticks.

This was a great loss to the king, and entirely destroyed his hopes of recovering the *Milaneze*, and conquering several other dominions in *Italy*, which were to be united to it in favour of the duke of *Orleans*, by the treaty of marriage between him and *Catherine de Medicis*; the secret articles of which the emperor knew nothing of. There was no doubt, but as the pope passionately desired to see his family reigning at *Milan*, as it did at *Florence*, he would have spared nothing to have forwarded the king of *France*'s designs.

Some time after the pope's death, a thing happened at *Milan* which occasioned great anger and fury, and which may be looked upon as one of the immediate causes of the war which broke out again.

After the peace, the king wanted to have a man he could trust near the duke of *Milan*, and the duke desired it likewise; but this prince, out of fear of giving the emperor any mistrust, durst not consent to have a *French* ambassador, or envoy, at his court. At last he agreed with the king to receive one with that character, but only *incognito*, for he was to pass publickly for nothing but a private gentleman.

They pitched upon a *Milaneze* gentleman for this purpose, whose name was *Merveille*, who had settled in *France* in the reign of *Lewis* XII. He was sent to *Milan*

Milan under the pretence of his private affairs, with orders not to shew his credential letters to any one but the duke, and to take no title upon him: But whether it was, that the secret was not kept close enough, or, whether the emperor suspected the trick, however he gave the duke to understand, that he was not pleased with the residence of that gentleman at *Milan*, and proceeded so far as to use menaces. Fear made the duke satisfy him, but in such a manner as was very displeasing to the king. *A. D.* 1534.

A lord of the family of *Castiglione* had had a quarrel with *Merveille*, and as he was passing by his house, insulted his domesticks. These defended themselves, and *Castiglione* was killed upon the spot.

The magistracy of *Milan* being informed of what had happened, sent to take up *Merveille*, and put him in prison. His trial was dispatched in a few days, his head was cut off in the prison, and the next day his body was exposed in the street, to the view of all the people.

So strange a proceeding irritated the king as much as may be imagined. He wrote about it, not only to the duke and the emperor, but also to all the princes in *Europe*, in such a manner as suited an outrage committed upon the person of an ambassador, by which the law of nations was broke, and the royal dignity affronted. The emperor answered the *French* ambassador with an air of contempt, That the business did not belong to him; and two days after he sent away *du Prat*, one of his ministers, to *Flanders* for the princess of *Denmark*, his niece, to marry her to the duke of *Milan*, being very much rejoiced to see the duke become irreconcileable to the king by the behaviour he had shewed in this affair.

The king, however, was not in haste to revenge the grievous injury which the duke of *Milan* had done him. He had a mind to see what turn the emperor's affairs would take with the *Turks*, who had broke the truce, and were preparing to act by sea and land against that prince. He knew that the emperor on his side intended to go and attack the *Mahometans* in *Africa*. He thought proper therefore to let him engage in that war, and in the mean while he gained some *German* princes to his interest, who were disgusted

A. D. 1534. gusted at the house of *Austria*, and in particular *Philip Landgrave* of *Hesse*, who promised him, that as soon as the emperor concerned himself in the duke of *Milan*'s affairs, he would enter with an army upon the territories of the king of the *Romans*.

Memoirs of Bellay, l. 4.

The king had already part of his legions on foot. He gave orders to the gendarmery to be ready, and commissioned count *William* of *Fustemberg* to raise twenty companies of lansquenets for his service.

As soon as he saw the emperor engaged in his expedition to *Africa*, he prepared for marching against the duke of *Milan*; but he must necessarily have leave to pass from the duke of *Savoy*, who after having been a long time firmly attached to *France*, went over to the emperor, and proceeded so far as to give him the prince of *Piedmont*, his eldest son, to be educated at the court of *Spain*. The king had a great many other reasons to be dissatisfied with the duke of *Savoy*, and was not sorry at having an opportunity of making him sensible of it. He sent president *Poyet* to him to demand leave to pass, in order to go into the *Milanese*. *William du Bellay*, lord of *Langey*, in his memoirs, which are a continuation of those of *Martin du Bellay*, his brother, says that the duke refused it. *Guichenon*, who was not a less exact historian, says the contrary in his history of the royal house of *Savoy*. Be that as it will, either the refusal, or other demands which the king made upon the duke, obliged him to put himself under the emperor's protection. Unfortunately for him, this prince was then taken up with his expedition into *Africa*; and he could only give him hopes of assisting him, as soon as it was possible for him to do it.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 5.

A. D. 1535. In the mean while the king made his troops file off towards *Lyons*, where he was to be himself in the beginning of the following year 1535; but before he went from *Paris*, he had a mind to draw down the benediction of heaven by making an example of the persons of six hereticks who were crept into the kingdom, and had had the impudence to fix even upon the walls of the *Louvre* impious papers against the holy sacrament of the altar. He assisted himself at a general procession to make reparation for the scandal which this impiety had given, and in the evening of the

the same day the malefactors were burnt alive. It was upon this occasion, that the king said aloud publickly, that if his own arm was infected with heresy, he would cut it off himself, and that he would not spare it in his own children. *A. D.* 1535.

Immediately after he set out for *Lyons*; and when he was come there, he sent from thence, and declared war with the duke of *Savoy*. Admiral *Chabot* went shortly after into *Bresse*, and afterwards into *Bugey*, where all the towns surrendered without resistance. From thence he entered into *Savoy*, and took *Chambery* and *Montmélian*; all that is on this side of mount *Senis* submitted, except *Tarentaise*, where the inhabitants took up arms to defend themselves in their mountains. Guichenon. *Hist. of the House of Savoy.*

The duke of *Savoy* finding himself in this condition, renewed his instances with the emperor: His envoys found him at *Naples*, where he had entered in triumph upon his return from *Africa*, after the defeat of the famous *Cheredin*, more commonly known by the name of *Barberousse*, and having taken *Goulette* and *Tunis*, but he kept only *Goulette*.

The Emperor was very well disposed to assist the duke; but a new incident hindered him from giving him a certain answer upon this point. This was the death of *Francis Sforce* duke of *Milan*. It deprived the king of the principal motive of his armament, which was to chastise that duke: But as he died without children, and as the king at the treaty of *Cambray* had resigned the *Milaneze* only to him and his posterity, his right to that dutchy reverted to him; and the emperor foresaw very well that he would make new sollicitations to obtain the investiture of it in favour of the duke of *Orleans*, as belonging to the house of *France*, by right of succession.

Accordingly Monsieur *de Villa*, the *French* ambassador, took care to mention it immediately to *Nicholas Perrénot*, lord of *Granvelle*, one of the emperor's ministers, and afterwards to the emperor himself. That prince did not seem to be very unwilling to receive the king's proposals upon this head. He only gave him to understand, that he would more willingly grant the investiture to the duke of *Angoulême*, the king's third son, than to the duke of *Orleans*, upon

A. D. 1535. condition, that measures should be taken in concert for the security and tranquillity of *Italy*.

The ambassador, after several conferences with the emperor's ministers, thought the thing was very far advanced, and gave notice of it to the king; insomuch that admiral *Chabot*, who was at the head of the army against the duke of *Savoy*, was named to go and conclude the treaty as soon as the principal conditions should be agreed on; and orders were sent him to take particular care that his troops did not commit the least hostility upon the territories which belong'd to the emperor.

But this prince's intention was only to amuse the king, whilst he was preparing to assist the duke of *Savoy*, and raising forces in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

In the mean time the admiral continued his progress in the dominions of *Savoy*. He made himself master of *Pas de Suze*, march'd strait to *Turin*, from whence the duke and dutchess of *Savoy* were retired to *Verceil*; and the inhabitants finding themselves forsook, opened their gates to him upon the third of *April*. *Chivas* likewise surrendered.

A. D. 1536. Guichenon, *Hist. of Savoy.*

These were not the only losses the duke of *Savoy* met with. The canton of *Berne* declared war against him; the troops of that canton made themselves masters of *Lausanne*, and all the country of *Vaux*, of that of *Gex*, and part of *Chablais*. The *Valesans* seized upon the rest, and the canton of *Fribourg* took from him the county of *Romont*. Thus this prince saw himself stript on all sides. The admiral was very near going to besiege him at *Verceil*; and he had done it, if he could have been joined by six thousand *Italians*, who were in the king's pay. But *Anthony de Lève* hindered their junction, having put himself between them and the admiral, with an army of between twelve and thirteen thousand men, not as the emperor's general, but as commander of the troops of the league which had been made for the security of *Italy*.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 5.

During these transactions, the emperor came from *Naples* to *Rome*, followed by the *French* ambassador, to whom they continued to give fine words relating to the investiture of the *Milaneze* for one of the sons of

of *France*. And here the ambaſſador was fully convinced that hitherto he had been cheated. *A. D.* 1536.

The emperor in a conſiſtory, in the preſence of the pope, the cardinals, the ambaſſadors of *Venice*, of ſeveral other perſons, and of the *French* ambaſſador himſelf, made a ſpeech very injurious to the king of *France*. He declared that he would not give the inveſtiture of the dutchy of *Milan* to the duke of *Orleans*; that he was diſpoſed to grant it to the duke of *Angoulême*; but that before all things elſe, the king muſt withdraw his troops out of the duke of *Savoy's* dominions.

The pope, the cardinals, the *French* ambaſſador, and all the perſons preſent, were very much ſurprized at this diſcourſe of the emperor, who having himſelf reflected upon his manner of ſpeaking, had a mind, when he took leave of the pope, to clear ſome things to the ambaſſador which he had ſaid. He explained himſelf with more moderation, and gave different interpretations of ſome points which he had touched upon.

While all this paſſed, *John* cardinal of *Lorain* was upon the road coming to conclude the treaty, upon which the ambaſſador had always given the king good hopes. This cardinal was noimnated to this office in the room of the admiral, who, during this juncture, could not leave the army. He found the emperor at *Sienne*. When he had an audience of him, new propoſals were made on both ſides; but he ſaw very well, that this prince was reſolved upon war. He immediately gave notice of it to the king, and adviſed the admiral of it, that he might keep upon his guard. This general diſpatched an expreſs to the king, to deſire him to drill on a little, and to tell him that he wanted a month longer to put *Turin* in a ſtate of defence, and ſecure ſome places in *Piedmont*, and that after that time he hoped to be in a condition to ſtop the enemy. *Memoirs of Langey*, l. 5.

The buſineſs therefore that now lay before the king's council, was to form a plan of war for the campaign. They were in little fear for the frontier of *Picardy*, where the fortified towns were in good condition. *Champaign* was more open, and it was known that the king of the *Romans* was raiſing

A. D. 1536. troops in *Germany*, in order to enter upon that side. They did not foresee any great efforts on the side of the *Pyrenees*. They resolved to keep upon the defensive in those three parts. And the main article was on the side of the *Alps*, where the emperor's chief troops were.

There was likewise another question to consider upon, whether they should send all the army over the *Alps* to meet the emperor, or whether they should bring back the troops to this side; guarding only *Turin*, and some other places, to employ part of the enemy's forces. They took the last resolution. They put a strong garrison in *Turin*; they kept *Fossan*, *Coni*, and some other posts. The marquis of *Saluzzo* had the general command of the towns and troops beyond the mountains, and the body of the army returned into *France*, under the orders of admiral *Chabot*.

The emperor's design was to come into *Provence*; but before that he had a mind to take *Fossan* and *Coni*, that he might not leave these places behind him, and to besiege or block up *Turin* at the same time, to prevent any excursions of the garrison.

These places would no doubt have given him a great deal of trouble, if it had not been for the treachery of the marquis of *Saluzzo*, who declared for the emperor, at a time when it could be least expected; that is, after the mark of confidence, which the king had given him, in making him his lieutenant-general in *Italy*.

Coni, which he had made him believe he would defend himself, surrendered after his desertion to the emperor's troops: At the same time *James Fossaro*, marquis of *Scalengue* was detached with ten thousand men to lay siege to *Turin*, and *Anthony de Léve* came upon the seventh of *June* before *Fossan* to attack it.

Montpezat had undertaken to defend the place, tho' it was in very bad condition, and wanted a great many necessary things for its defence: He had a good number of brave officers with him, and a pretty numerous garrison, considering the smalness of the town. He received a courier from the king, who desired him to use his utmost endeavours to defend it for a month, leaving however the thing to his prudence,

Memoirs of Langey, L. 6.

dence, not desiring, after all, to let so many valiant men perish as were shut up in it. *A. D.* 1536.

The resolution, vigour, and conduct of *Montpezat*, who was well assisted, supplied the want of every thing else. He made some brisk sallies at first, in one of which *Anthony de Lève* had like to have been taken himself.

The siege had already lasted for above fifteen days. There was a very great breach in the wall, and it was not doubted but the assault would be given; but he would not desire a capitulation, but waited till *Anthony de Lève* proposed it to him. This general who had a mind to save his troops, offered it to him at last; *Montpezat* accepted of it, and obtained most honourable conditions, among the rest, that which was the capital point, of not leaving the place within fifteen days. This was the term which the king had fixed himself.

Eight days after the capitulation, the emperor came to the camp. As there was a cessation of arms, some of the officers of the besieged came out at times, and among others, monsieur *de la Roche-Dumaine* paid his compliments to the emperor, who received him with a great deal of good nature.

He desired him to come to the review of his army, and asked him what he thought of it. This gave occasion to a pretty lively piece of conversation. *La Roche-Dumaine* answered, That he was sorry to see he had so good an army; but that if he went over the mountains, he would see a finer; and that if he had the good fortune to defeat it, in fifteen days he would meet with another much more numerous.

The emperor asked him, Whither he thought he was going? He said, Into *Provence*. It is true, answered the emperor, and the *Provincials* are my subjects. I assure your imperial majesty, reply'd *la Roche-Dumaine*, you will find them very disobedient. This conversation continued some time in a very free manner; but the emperor always shewed sufficiently, that he was persuaded the king was not in a condition to oppose him. This appeared more especially by the last question he put to that lord. He asked him, how many days he must have to carry him from the place where they were to *Paris*? Days must you

A. D. 1536. have, replied *Dumaine*; if you mean having the day, or gaining a victory, I assure you it will cost you at least a dozen, unless the travellers are not well beaten in the first. This answer made the emperor smile, who took his leave of him, after a great many compliments.

The term fixed by the capitulation being expired, *Montpezat* went out with his garrison, and took the road to *Fenestrella*, whither he was to be guarded; he sent *du Bellay* from thence to the king, to give him an account of what had passed at *Fossan*, and that prince gave him assurances of his satisfaction at his behaviour.

The king had nothing left beyond the mountains but *Turin*, which *Scalengue* and the marquis of *Marignan* were besieging with ten thousand men. The place was defended by Monsieur *d'Annebaut* and Monsieur *de Couci*, lord of *Burie*, who answered the character they had of men of very great valour. The opposition which the emperor foresaw in this enterprize, disturbed him very much; but he was resolved, contrary to the opinion of most of his general officers, to go into *Provence* as soon as possible, and in *July* he marched towards *Nice* with his army.

Guichenon, *History of* Savoy.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 7. Belcar. l. 21. *Annals of* France, *&c.*

As soon as it was certain that he was coming into *Provence*, they began to put the plan of defence in execution, which the king had formed with marshal *Ann de Montmorenci*. He made that lord generalissimo of his troops, with full power to act, as his prudence rather than his courage should direct, in the several occurrences which might happen.

This plan consisted of three things. First, to lay the country waste from the *Alps* to *Marseille*, and from the sea as far as to *Dauphiné*, not only the flat country, but likewise the villages and towns, and to confine himself to the defence of *Marseille* and *Arles*. Secondly, To keep the army encamp'd under *Avignon*, cover'd with the *Rhone* and the *Durance*. In the third place, not to hazard a battle, nor engage in any important undertaking, without a moral certainty of success.

Waste was accordingly committed every where, except that they did not meddle with the trees and vines,

vines, the fruits of which were already forward, the plenty of which would probably breed diſeaſes in the enemy's camp. *A. D.* 1536.

The emperor's army ſuffered very much in their paſſage over the mountains, being continually harraſs'd by the mountaineers, who were always falling upon it at the paſſes of the defiles, and killed a great many ſoldiers.

When the emperor came into *Provence*, he met with no enemy, except ſome parties which were eaſily repulſed, becauſe the commanding officers had orders to retreat, as ſoon as they found themſelves attacked. There were none but *Montejan* and *Boiſy*, who went beyond them. Being advanced as far as *Frejus* at the time that the imperial army decamped from thence, a warm skirmiſh happened. They were defeated after a bloody fight, in which the conquerors loſt as many people as the vanquiſhed. *Montejan* and *Boiſy* were taken.

The emperor, who made the beſt of every thing, having received the news of this ſmall advantage, wrote into *Italy* and *Germany*, that the vanguard of the *French* army was defeated. The truth was, there were in this party but three hundred infantry, and an hundred and forty horſe; but this falſe report ſerved the emperor's turn in intimidating in thoſe countries the friends and allies of the king of *France*, and thoſe whom the uncertainty of the ſucceſs of this enterprize kept ſtill in ſuſpenſe.

However inconſiderable this firſt blow might be, it gave the king a great deal of vexation; ſo much the more, becauſe immediately before he heard of it, he met with a great loſs, which had overwhelmed him with grief. It was the death of his eldeſt ſon *Francis*, the dauphin, a young prince eighteen years and a half old, whoſe great qualities were already the admiration of all *France*. He died at *Tournon* upon the twelfth of *Auguſt*, as he was coming to join the army.

He was poiſoned by *Sebaſtian de Montecuculi*, an *Italian* of *Ferrara*, his cup-bearer: Upon ſome ſuſpicions they had of him, they ſeized him, and he was put to the queſtion. He was convicted of this crime, and ſaid ſome things very diſadvantageous to

A. D. 1536. the reputation of the emperor's council. This death made a great noise in *Europe*. There was more credit given to the emperor's protestations and oaths upon this occasion, than to those of his ministers and generals. Be it as it will, if they had any hand in so black an action, they were punish'd for it by the ill success of their expedition.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 6.

The emperor being come into the plain country, where he saw all ravaged, found that he was very much mistaken, that it would be very difficult for him to stay there for want of subsistance, and too dangerous to proceed further, for fear of being cut off by the *French* army. It was however necessary for him to come to a speedy resolution.

They could consider only upon three points, which were to go and attack the camp at *Avignon*, or lay siege to *Arles*, or do the same to *Marseille*. By taking *Marseille*, he might have had provisions by sea; and having *Arles*, would make the passage of the *Rhone* easy to him, that he might get quarters in *Languedoc*. The attack of the camp, if it succeeded, would be a decisive stroke; but those who had been to take a view of it, had found it so inaccessible, that they look'd upon the attacking it to be a rash enterprize.

Arles and *Marseille* might be besieged, especially *Arles*, because of the situation of the place, which lay under command; but if either siege should last never so little a time, the army would be starved, there being neither forage nor provisions in the neighbourhood. The garrisons were strong; there were a great many *French* nobility in them, and the best troops had been picked out to defend these two keys of the kingdom.

The emperor in most extreme perplexity, advanced with great part of his army to *Marseille*, and invested it. He sent another part to *Arles*, under the command of the marquis of *Guast*, as if he had been resolved to carry on two sieges at the same time; and having left the duke of *Alva* to command the troops before *Marseille*, he returned to his camp, near the town of *Aix*, spreading a report that he was going to march to the camp at *Avignon* to attack it.

At

At the same time *Andrew Doria* arrived upon the coast of *Provence*, with the emperor's fleet, and brought him money to pay his army with, and provisions. The army was reviewed; bread was taken with them for ten days, and it was not doubted but they were going to attack the camp at *Avignon*. *A. D.* 1536.

But this error did not last long; for the next day *Martin du Bellay*, who had been sent towards *Aix* to get news of the march of the *Imperialists*, came and told the king that the emperor was decamped, that he had taken the road to the *Alps* along by the sea side to return into *Italy*, that he had left his camp full of dead and sick, and that there was an insupportable infection in all the neighbourhood.

This news occasioned great surprize; but they were less astonished at it, when they were informed that the emperor on the day that he reviewed his army, had found it diminished by above twenty thousand men, and that of fifty thousand who had pass'd the *Alps*, he had but thirty thousand left; that several general officers had died of sickness, and among the rest, *Anthony de Lève*, upon whom he relied the most of all his officers, and who was indeed one of the greatest generals in *Europe*.

The peasants came out from the woods and rocks on all sides, and knocked all on the head without quarter, who were straggling, or could not follow the army. But, which was much worse, the king being assured of the retreat of the enemy, detached the light horse after them, under the command of the count *de Tende*, the sieurs *de Bonneval*, *de Ceres*, and *de Langey*. The last, who gives us the particulars of this flight, says, That in the single space which is between *Aix* and *Frejus*, the emperor lost near two thousand men. The passing over the *Alps*, where he was attacked every minute, cost him much more. He got at last into *Piedmont*, and went to *Genoa*, with a quite different countenance from what they had seen him put on before he went upon his expedition, which he looked upon as a sure victory; for he spoke then with so much confidence, haughtiness, and contempt of his enemy, as if he had been already at his mercy with an halter about his neck, as he expressed *Memoirs of Langey*, 47.

A. D. 1536. preſſed himſelf in his ſpeech at *Rome*, upon which ſeveral jeſts were made after this bad ſucceſs.

The kingdom, upon this occaſion, owed its preſervation to the wiſe conduct of the king and the marſhal *de Montmorenci*. The king ſaw by experience, how much more preferable in a prince prudence and application, which he had hitherto wanted, are than valour, in which he placed all his glory. He took into conſideration, whether he ſhould follow the emperor to the other ſide of the mountains, to make the beſt advantage of his confuſion, and aſſiſt the *French* troops, who had maintained themſelves there with a great deal of reſolution; but he was prevented from doing it, by the news which he received out of *Picardy*. I will firſt touch upon what happened there during this campaign, and then return to the affairs in *Piedmont*.

At the ſame time that the emperor entered *Provence*, the count of *Naſſau*, and *Adrian de Croy*, count of *Roeux* came into *Picardy* with an army of twenty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. They took *Guiſe* and ſome other leſs conſiderable places, and after ſeveral marches inveſted *Peronne*. Monſieur *de Fleuranges*, known by the name of marſhal *de la Mark*, got into it to defend it, with a great number of gentlemen and lords of *Picardy*, reſolved to bury themſelves under the ruins of that important place, rather than ſurrender it.

Langey. Le Feron, Paradin. Belcar. *Annals of* France.

They had occaſion for all their valour to reſiſt the violence with which they were attacked, ſeventy two pieces of cannon thundering upon the place without ceaſing, and they having but two thouſand men with ſome companies of citizens. The town being laid open in ſeveral places both by the artillery and the mines, they held out four aſſaults, after which the count of *Naſſau* having loſt his beſt troops, and deſpairing of forcing ſuch brave people, raiſed the ſiege, and went upon no other conſiderable enterprize.

The lords of *Aunebaut* and *de Burie* had defended *Turin* during the *Provence* expedition; and *Guy Rangone*, an *Italian* lord, who had always been firmly attached to the king, having received money enough from that prince to raiſe a body of twelve thouſand men, was come to the aſſiſtance of the place, and had

had made the marquis of *Marignan* and general *Scalengne* raiſe the ſiege. Afterwards *Carignan*, *Moncalier*, *Quiers*, *Quieras*, *Saluzzo*, and ſome other places, had ſurrender'd to the *French*, who had likewiſe defeated a conſiderable body of *Imperialiſts*, the principal officers of which they had taken, and got ſeveral colours. *A. D.* 1536. Langey, l. 8.

The emperor having repaſſed the mountains, found things in this ill condition. He uſed all his endeavours to engage pope *Paul* III. and the other powers of *Italy*, to unite with him, in order to drive the *French* from *Turin*; after which, he ſaid, tranquillity would be reſtored to *Italy*. But the princes, and Republicks of that country, remembring that they had made their own chains, by contributing, as they had done, to eſtabliſh the emperor's power in thoſe parts, refuſed, under ſeveral pretences, the propoſals which he had made them upon that head: So that this prince being apprehenſive of more diſgrace, if the king ſhould reſolve to croſs the *Alps*, went away to *Genoa*, where he embarked for *Spain* in *November*, leaving the command of the armies to the marquis of *Guaſt*, with the ſame authority that *Anthony de Léve* had had. Guichenon, Hiſt. de Savoy.

The duke of *Savoy* was extreamly concerned at this departure, and at ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the emperor. He retired to *Nice*, leaving *Piedmont* a prey to the *French* and *Imperialiſts*. The war continued there between both parties, the reſt of the year, with various ſucceſs, both ſides only endeavouring to defend their winter quarters. The count of *St. Pol* being come into *Savoy*, retook *Chambery*, which the militia of *Tarantaiſe* had ſurprized; he routed them near *Briançon*, ſubdued all the country, and ravaged it; and the duke of *Savoy* had nothing left on that ſide, but the valley of *Aoſt*, into which the rigour of the ſeaſon would not permit the count of *St. Pol* to penetrate.

While the king was marching to defend *Provence*, a buſineſs happened, which ſurprized him agreeably at firſt, but gave him ſome perplexity after the emperor's retreat.

James

A. D. 1536. *James* V. king of *Scotland*, being informed of that prince's design upon *Provence*, raised an army, without being desired by the king, of sixteen thousand men, equipped a fleet, and put himself at the head of it, to assist the kingdom of *France*. The storm blew back the fleet twice, and drove it ashore in the ports of *Scotland*; but king *James* being separated from it, landed at *Dieppe*. He went forwards immediately to join the king in *Provence*, where he did not doubt but there would be a battle; but he met him upon the mountain of *Tarare*, upon his return from *Lyons*, after the flight of the *Germans*. He received him with all the marks of tenderness, which such a forwardness to serve him upon so pressing an occasion deserved: But what embarrassed the king, was this:

He desired *Magdalen* of *France*, his daughter, in marriage. The king foresaw very well, that this alliance would give umbrage to the king of *England*, whom it was his interest to keep fair with; the more, as he was not ignorant of the steps which the emperor had taken to come to a reconciliation with that prince, notwithstanding the outragious affront he had received from him, by the divorce of *Catherine* of *Arragon*, his aunt. Upon other accounts, the king was very much inclined to give the king of *Scotland* some testimonies of his thankfulness to a prince, of whose generosity towards him there were not many examples.

The method which he took was to grant the king of *Scotland* his demand, and before the thing was become publick, to acquaint the king of *England* with his resolution, and to endeavour to get him to agree to it, by the motive which had determined him to take it.

He sent the sieur *de la Pommeraye* to him; a man who was very agreeable to that prince, who began, with giving him an account of the particulars of what had happened in *Provence*. This was hearkened to with pleasure; but, as soon as ever he opened his mouth about the king of *Scotland*'s marriage, *Henry* broke off the conversation, and it was impossible to bring him upon it again.

The

The king would, perhaps, have considered longer upon this point, if he had not known the leagues which *Henry* had already made with the protestant princes of *Germany*, against the emperor, and if the kingdom of *England* had been quiet and settled: But the alteration which *Henry* had made in religion; his revolt from the church; the persecution which he had begun against the catholicks, had occasioned great uneasinesses, from which he expected some consequences. And therefore the king, who had communicated this affair to him only out of a piece of complaisance, proceeded farther, and the treaty of marriage was concluded at *Blois*, upon the twenty sixth of *November*, between the king of *Scotland* and *Magdalen* of *France*, and the wedding was celebrated at *Paris* in *January* following. *A. D.* 1536. *Collection of Treaties by* Leonard, t. 2. *A. D.* 1537.

In the mean while the king, after his return to *Paris*, went upon a proceeding against *Charles* V. which indeed, was of very little significancy, but which shewed that prince, at least, that he was not looked upon in *France* as so formidable an enemy, that they thought they need give themselves much trouble about keeping fair with him. They pretended, that having declared war without reason, he had broke the treaty of *Cambray*; that, by consequence, the cessions which *France* had made in that treaty were null; and, among others, those of the homage and jurisdiction over the counties of *Artois* and *Flanders*, by which means he became, like his predecessors, a vassal of the crown.

The houses of Parliament, in which were present the princes of the blood, the peers of the kingdom, and a great number of prelates, being assembled, *Cappel*, the advocate general, moved, that *Charles* of *Austria*, emperor, being notoriously guilty of rebellion and treason, might be deprived of the counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Charolois*, and the other demesnes in his possession, which depended upon the crown; and that, by way of punishment for his offence, all those demesnes might be confiscated to the king's use. *Memorial of the Chamber of Accounts, indorsed H. H. fol. 1.*

The motion was received, and an herald at arms was sent to the frontier of the *Netherlands*, to cite *Charles* of *Austria* to appear before the court of peers, at least by proxy; and no body appearing, the counties

A. D. 1537. ties of *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Charolois*, and the other demesnes, were declared united to the crown of *France*.

This arret was looked upon by the emperor much in the same manner, as in *France* they had looked upon the bravadoes which he made in his speeches at *Rome:* The war continued on all sides. *Burie*, governor of *Turin*, surprized *Casal*, but the misunderstanding which was between him and count *Rangoné*, not suffering him to intrench immediately under the castle, he was surprized himself by the marquis of *Guast*, who cut in pieces twelve hundred men, and took him prisoner. On the other hand, the king opened the campaign early, enter'd *Artois* with an army of near thirty thousand men, took *Hedin*, *St. Pol*, *St. Venant*, and *Lillers*, and afterwards quartered his army upon that frontier.

St. Pol was retaken and carried by assault, by *Floris d'Egmond*, count of *Bures*, the emperor's lieutenant general, who despairing of being able to keep it, razed it, and set fire to it. He took likewise *Montreuil*, and laid siege to *Terouanne*. They were upon the point of coming to a battle, the dauphin, and the marshal *Montmorenci*, being come up with a fine army to the assistance of the place, when a trumpet, sent by *Mary* queen dowager of *Hungary*, the emperor's sister, and governess of the *Netherlands*, came to the dauphin's camp to give him notice, that she had consented to a conference proposed for a cessation of arms upon this frontier; and that whilst that was held, the count of *Bures* should discontinue the attack of *Terouanne*.

Collection of Treaties by Leonard, t. 2. The conference was held at *Bomy*, a village in *Artois*, and the cessation of arms was concluded for ten months, to extend to the frontiers of the *Netherlands*, and *Picardy*, till they could agree entirely upon a final peace; and by this treaty the siege of *Terouanne* was raised. Thus ended the campaign on this side, while the war was warmer in *Piedmont* than ever.

The kings affairs went on but indifferently, through the misunderstanding of the generals. The marquis of *Guast* knew how to make his advantage of it. He drove the *French* out of the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, and to compleat the conquest of it, laid siege to *Carmagnole*.

magnole. This place ſurrender'd by capitulation; but *Francis* marquis of *Saluzzo*, received there the puniſhment of the treachery he had committed againſt the king, being killed upon the ſpot with a muſket ball, which went through his body. *A. D.* 1537.

The marquis of *Guaſt* raiſed the ſiege of *Aſt*, which Mr. *d' Humieres* was beſieging; but that lord made himſelf amends by the taking of *Albe*. This place was retaken by the marquis of *Guaſt*, who likewiſe made himſelf maſter of *Quiers* and *Quieras*, and inveſted *Pignerol*; but the place being ſtrong, well ſtored, and having a numerous garriſon, he contented himſelf with blocking it up, and ſent ten thouſand men to *Pas de Suze* under the command of *Cæſar* of *Naples*, governor of *Ulpiano*, where he entrenched himſelf.

The motive of this precaution was, the news which the marquis received of a numerous army, which was getting together at *Lyons*, to march into *Piedmont*. The dauphin, and the marſhal *de Montmorenci*, were already come to that city, and the king was to follow them ſoon himſelf. He came thither accordingly upon the ſixth of *October*, and upon the tenth of the ſame month ſent away the dauphin, and the marſhal *de Montmorenci*. They came to *Oulx* with between ten and twelve thouſand men, and were followed by the reſt of the army, and the king.

The marſhal *de Montmorenci* being advanced to take a view of the ſituation of the enemy, he found them poſted near a league on this ſide of *Suze*, at a defile, in the mountain upon the road to *Chaumont*, with a great entrenchment in the defile, flanked with two others upon two hills, to the right and the left.

The marſhal thought, that it would be impoſſible to force this entrenchment, by attacking it in the front; but, after having conſidered every thing well, he found that the two hills, I mentioned, were commanded by two other riſing grounds, and that, if they could be gained, he could pour ſo great a fire from thence upon the enemy, that they could not reſiſt it.

Having formed his ſcheme of attack, he ſent to give the dauphin notice to come without delay to *Exiles*, to ſupport him, becauſe he ſhould ſet out before day to attack the enemy.

He

A. D. 1537. He came up within sight of them; and having formed his troops as if he would fall upon their front, he ordered count *William* of *Fustemberg*, to go and take possession of one of the two rising grounds, which was on his right hand, and on the left of the enemy, and at the same time a large company of infantry, under the command of captain *l'Artigue*, dispersed, and with prodigious speed climbed up the other rising ground. As soon as *l'Artigue* had gained it, he formed his troop again into a battalion, and shot without intermission upon the entrenchment on the hill, which was within the reach of a gun, and all uncovered on that side.

It was not possible for the enemy to stand so terrible a fire; the entrenchment was abandoned, and *l'Artigue* having at the same time fallen upon those who retreated, with part of his infantry, under the command of *Gaverat* his lieutenant, he cut them in pieces. The attack was so sudden, that the entrenchment was carried before the lansquenets of the count of *Fustemberg* were got to the other rising ground.

This post being taken, it was impossible for *Cæsar* of *Naples* to keep the others. The *Imperialists* were put to the rout every where. The marshal pursued them closely. His troops entered pell-mell with them into *Suze*, where their baggage and magazines were; and if he had only had five hundred horse, there would hardly any have escaped of the ten thousand men who guarded the pass.

The castle of *Suze* surrendered at discretion; that of *Viellane* was stormed, and the marquis of *Guast* had no sooner heard of the defeat of *Cæsar* of *Naples*, but he raised the blockade before *Pignerol*. The dauphin followed him, but he had time enough to pass the *Po*, and encamped under *Moncallier*.

The dauphin stopped at *Rivoli*, where he rested his troops two days. From thence advancing to *Grouillan*, he made himself master of a great many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of *Turin*, by means of which the enemy hoped to block up that place, when they had taken *Pignerol*. The dauphin continued his pursuit of the marquis of *Guast*, who decamped from *Moncallier*, and posted himself under the cannon of *Ast*.

Mon-

Moncallier surrender'd to the dauphin, as well as several other little towns and forts, in which they found a prodigious quantity of corn, which served for the subsistance of the army, and there was enough left to supply *Turin* for a year. *A. D.* 1537.

The king being come to *Carignan*, it was resolved to lay siege to *Quiers*, in which the marquis of *Guast* had put a garrison of four thousand men, under the command of *Don Anthony* of *Arragon*, his brother in law: But the news of the success of a negotiation, which was actually carrying on in *Spain*, prevented the execution of this design.

A truce had already been made, extending to the frontiers of the *Netherlands* and *Picardy*; it was made general for three months only. By this truce each party continued in possession of what he had. The armies on both sides were to retire out of *Piedmont*, and no more troops were to be kept there but what were necessary for the garrisons. The plenipotentiaries of the two princes were to meet at *Leucate*, upon the frontiers of *Spain*, to treat about a peace; and the cardinal of *Lorain*, and the marshal *de Montmorenci*, were named by the king for this negotiation. Guichenon, Hist. de Savoye. *Collection of treaties by* Leonard, t. 2.

The truce rendring the king's presence of no service in *Piedmont*, he prepared for returning into *France*. He left *Montejan* his lieutenant general beyond the mountains, and Mr. *de Langey* governor of *Turin*.

The emperor consented to the truce for two reasons. The first was, that he wanted money; and the second was the alliance which the king had made with *Solyman*. It would have been very fatal to the emperor, and even to christendom, if the king had been in a capacity of acting as powerfully as the grand signior did. The king was to attack the *Milaneze* with a numerous army, while the *Turks* made a descent by sea upon the kingdom of *Naples*. The famous *Barberousse*, according to *Solyman*'s order, took *Castro* near *Tarentum*, marched from thence to *Brindes*, putting all to fire and sword, took a great deal of booty, and made slaves without number: But the king, by reason of the diversion in *Picardy*, could not get beyond the *Alps* till the end of autumn. About the

A. D. 1537. same time the *Turks* had defeated the army of the king of the *Romans* near *Essek*, in a bloody battle. All this made the emperor look about him, and brought him more readily to enter into a treaty for peace. These are the most memorable things that happened, till the truce, during the year 1537.

Collection of treaties by Leonard, t. 2. *A. D.* 1538. The conferences for a peace were held at *Leucate* in *December*; but the king and the emperor made such opposite proposals, that nothing was concluded on, but to prolong the truce till *June* the year following. It was at his return from this conference, that the king rewarded the great services of the marshal *de Montmorenci* with the dignity of constable, with which he honoured him: That of marshal of *France*, which was vacant by the promotion of the constable, was given to *Montejan*, general of the *French* troops in *Piedmont*; and the marshal *de la Mark* dying a short time after the handsome defence which he made at *Peronne*, his staff was given to *Claude d' Annebaut*.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 8.

The pope, who had no mind to let the inclinations go off, which the emperor and the king had shewed for peace; upon which depended the league of the christian princes against the *Turk*, which he had been projecting a long time, proposed to them to have a conference with them, and sent them word, that though he was seventy years of age, he would come as far as *Nice* upon this occasion. They accepted the offer, and had an interview near *Nice*. The pope could not get a peace concluded; the restitution of the *Milaneze*, which the king insisted on, being an unsurmountable obstacle. But the truce was prolonged for ten years.

Collection of treaties by Leonard, t. 2.

Though the emperor and the king were so near together, they did not see one another, and the pope always treated with them separately; but the emperor being returned on board his fleet, and the contrary wind obliging him to put in to the island of *St. Margaret*, he sent a gentleman from thence to *Avignon*, where the king was at that time, to wait upon him in his name, and assure him of the desire he had to see him, and have some conversation with him. The king answered this civility, by shewing an equal degree of forwardness to embrace him, and went to the place which the emperor had proposed.

As

As soon as the emperor knew he was come, he landed. He was received with all the honours which were due to him, and regaled with a magnificent entertainment. Afterwards the king went to pay him a visit in his galley, both expressing all possible affection and candour. It is said, in *Langey*'s memoirs, that the conversation of the two princes lasted a long time, but that the subject of their discourse was not known. *A. D.* 1538.

Nothing seemed a greater proof of the sincerity of the reconciliation between the two kings, or at least the confidence which the emperor placed in the king's candour, than his going through *France* to subdue the people of *Ghent*, who had rebelled.

The emperor's presence was necessary to suppress this rebellion in its birth. It might have been attended with great consequences; and the king carried his integrity so far, as not only to refuse the offer which the people of *Ghent* made him of putting themselves under his protection, but likewise to inform the emperor of all their plots and designs. This was a great satisfaction to that prince, who probably would not have acted in the same manner upon a like occasion.

He demanded security of the king, and desired the bishop of *Tarbes*, who was then ambassador from *France*, and was with him, to write word to the constable, that as he went through he would satisfy the king upon the article of the *Milaneze*, by granting the investiture of that dutchy, either to the king himself, or one of his sons, requiring only, that they would not make use of that opportunity to propose any other treaties to him. He obtained all that he desired. He was offered what hostages he would have, and the king added, that he accepted the offer which he made him of the investiture of the *Milaneze*, only because it was a certain way to change the truce into a perpetual peace. *A. D.* 1539.

The dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* went to wait upon him at *Bayonne*. When they were come thither they offered themselves, according to the orders they had, as hostages to be put into the hands of the *Spaniards*. The emperor refused this offer, and said, that he would have no other security but the king his

A. D. 1539. brother's word. The king was advanced as far as *Loches*, and went to meet him on the road to *Poitiers*. They came together to *Paris*, where, at his arrival, he had all the honours paid him that can be imagined.

He was very well satisfied with them; but the earnest desire he had to go into *Flanders*, made him relish them with less pleasure. This forwardness was not only occasioned by his wanting to go as soon as possible to suppress the rebellion at *Ghent*; but likewise by his uneasiness at seeing himself in the hands of a king, whom in reality he did not mistrust, as he was acquainted with his integrity; but he knew, that some persons advised him to keep him, and he was apprehensive, lest that prince should suffer himself to be moved by such sort of counsel.

The king took care to remove his fears upon this head; but he committed a great mistake in not obliging that prince to renew to him by writing, as cardinal *de Tournon* would have had him have done, the promise which he had made of his own accord, relating to the investiture of the *Milaneze*. It was soon repented that he had not done it; for the emperor being come into the *Netherlands*, when he was put in mind of his word, answered directly, that he had never promised any thing relating to it.

This is, without doubt, the most dishonourable passage in that emperor's life; and it may be said, that in this, and some other things which happened in this journey, these two princes threw a great blemish upon their reputation, each in his way: *Charles* V. by his inexcusable insincerity, and *Francis*, by a credulity which cannot be pardoned in a prince who had already reigned four and twenty years, and, who had seen so many proofs of the subtle genius of the person he had to do with. He fell into several snares which that prince laid for him in the conversation they had together: But his imprudence was prodigious, when once, as they were talking of the king of *England*, to whom the emperor feigned to be irreconcileable, he imparted to him some of the most private particulars of the negotiations which they had had together, and all the offers which the duke of *Norfolk* had made him in his name, to engage him

him to enter into an alliance with him againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*. The emperor forgot nothing that he learned in theſe converſations; but made uſe of his intelligence afterwards with advantage, to ſtir up *Henry* VIII. againſt the king; and this moſt effectual method he took to engage that prince ſome time after to declare conjointly with him war againſt *France*. *A. D.* 1539. Du Tillet, *Collection of treaties with* England.

Theſe enormous miſtakes gave the king a great deal of vexation, when he knew he had been the dupe of that prince. It is ſaid, that this was the occaſion of the diſgrace of the conſtable *de Montmorenci*, who, indeed, contrary to the opinion of cardinal *de Tournon*, adviſed the king to rely upon the emperor's word, for the inveſtiture of the *Milaneze*. Several place his diſgrace for this reaſon, in the year 1540, ſoon after the emperor's paſſing through *France*; but it certainly did not happen till the year 1541. This is proved by the original letters of the *French* ambaſſadors, who reſided at the ſeveral courts of *Europe*, in which they gave an account to the conſtable of all that paſſed there till the end of *March*, in the year 1541, as to the miniſter of ſtate, from whom they expected orders and favour. *A. D.* 1540. *In the collection of Mr. the preſident of* Lamoignon.

The diſgrace of the favourite was without remedy; and after having almoſt abſolutely governed the kingdom, eſpecially ſince he had been raiſed to the dignity of conſtable, he lived the reſt of the reign at his caſtle of *Chantilly*, and upon his other eſtates. Others aſcribe this change to the great friendſhip and familiarity which this lord had with the dauphin, and which did not pleaſe the king. *A. D.* 1541.

The death of admiral *Chabot*, which happened almoſt at the ſame time, after having had as great a ſhare of favour, changed the face of the court. Marſhal *d' Annebaut* was ſent for by the king, and received into the higheſt favour. He commanded in *Piedmont* at that time, and *Langey* was ſent in his place.

The behaviour of the emperor, which was not more honourable and ſincere upon ſeveral other occaſions afterwards, had very much irritated the king againſt him; and it was eaſily foreſeen, that the truce ſigned for ten years, would not laſt ſo long. The

A. D. 1541. assassination of the two gentlemen whom the king sent to *Venice*, one of whom was to go to the *Ottoman Port*, to undeceive those two powers with relation to a thousand injurious reports which the emperor's emissaries had spread against him, disposed this prince very much to a rupture. It was the marquis of *Guast*, who, notwithstanding the truce, ordered the vessel to be attacked, which the two envoys were in upon the *Po*; and both of them were killed. The marquis protested, that this was done without his knowledge; but Mr. *de Langey*, lieutenant general in *Piedmont*, had certain proofs of the contrary.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 9.

Ibid.

The emperor saw, without doubt, how the king resented this outragious attempt, but he knew very well, that he was not yet in a condition to revenge it; for which reason he executed the resolution which he had taken a long time before, of a new expedition into *Africa*, against the *Infidels*. This would redound mightily to his honour, and would be of great service to him by the diversion it would give the *Turks*, who bore hard upon his brother, the king of the *Romans*, in *Hungary*; and besides, if he took *Algier*, which he intended to attack, as he had *Tunis*, it would be more difficult for the *Turks* to rove up and down the *Mediterranean*, and infest the coasts of the kingdom of *Naples*.

That he might have no disturbance raised in *Germany*, he agreed with the protestant princes upon one of those *Interims*, which he made use of several times according to the situation of his affairs. This name was given to a kind of treaty, by virtue of which each party continued in the free exercise of their religion till the decision of a general council, towards which several attempts had already been made without success.

The emperor went into *Italy*, where his fleet and army waited for him. He put to sea, and arrived about the end of *October* before *Algier*: No expedition could be more unfortunate than this. He was obliged to raise the siege, and with great difficulty and danger, got to the coast of *Spain*, after having lost by storms (which fell upon him during his voyage, while he was before *Algier*, and in his return,) one hundred

dred and thirty ships of several sizes, fifteen gallies, and most of his cannon and baggage. Almost all his troops were lost, some by shipwreck, some by sickness, some by hunger; and it was a terrible and frightful spectacle to *Spain*, to see the debris of this army come into their ports. *A. D.* 1541.

We may easily imagine, that the king did not hear this news with sorrow. It determined him to declare war against the emperor, on the account of the assassination of the two envoys which I mentioned, besides some other reasons which he gave to justify his taking up arms. This declaration of war was made in *May*, in the year 1542. He sent two armies into the field; one under the command of the duke of *Orleans*, his second son, which the duke of *Cleves* and some protestant princes in *Germany* joined with their troops. When it was reviewed, it made thirty five thousand foot, and three thousand horse. *Claude de Lorain*, count of *Guise*, commanded it under the duke of *Orleans*. It was to act in the *Netherlands*. Haræus in Annal. Brabant. *Memoirs of* Langey. Belcarius, *&c.* *A. D.* 1542.

The other army consisted of above forty thousand men. It marched into *Roussillon*, commanded by the *Dauphin*, who had marshal *d'Annebaut* under him. The king was to be with it, supposing that the emperor, who was then in *Spain*, would come to fight it, and with this design he advanced as far as *Montpellier*.

The duke of *Orleans*, about the middle of *June*, entered the dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and with so much success, that he conquered all that dutchy, except *Thionville*. During that time, the duke of *Cleves* ravaged all *Brabant*, and made the governess of the *Netherlands* afraid for *Louvain* and *Antwerp*, whilst *Anthony* of *Bourbon* duke of *Vendôme* took and destroyed all the forts which covered St. *Omer*, *Aire*, and *Bethune*.

The duke of *Orleans* might have pushed his conquests much further, if he would have hearkened to the wise advice of the count of *Guise*; but a report being spread, that there would soon be a battle in *Roussillon*, he went away to be at it, without waiting for the king's orders, carried part of the troops with him, and put the rest into the garrisons.

A. D. 1542. The king was very much surprized to see him come to *Montpellier*, and two days after, being informed of the loss of the city of *Luxembourg*, he was in a great passion with him. This fault would not have gone unpunished, if the guilty person had not been a son of *France*.

In the mean time affairs in *Roussillon* went quite otherwise than they hoped. The siege of *Perpignan*, which they had formed, lasted near three months, through the handsome resistance of the duke of *Alva*; and they were forced to raise the siege, after having lost a great many men at it.

There was nothing very remarkable done in *Piedmont*, whither marshal *d'Annebaut*, now become admiral of *France* by the death of Monsieur *de Chabot*, was sent to command, after the raising the siege of *Perpignan*. He came into the place of Monsieur *de Langey*, who was obliged to quit the command, by reason of his health, which was destroyed by fatigue, and who died as he was returning into *France*, very much regretted, for many fine qualities, which made him one of the most distinguished men of his age, for his merit in war, in the affairs of state, and in the sciences, which he had very much cultivated, contrary to the custom of persons of quality at that time.

Haræus, Annal. Brabant. *A. D.* 1543. Such was the success of this first campaign in the year 1542. That of the year following, was opened in *March* with the bloody defeat of *Philip de Croy* duke of *Arscot*, who after having supply'd *Hensberg* with provisions, was attacked in his return by *Martin Rossem*, general of the duke of *Cleves*'s troops near *Zittard*, and cut in pieces with the loss of three thousand *Imperialists*, of a greater number of Prisoners, and of all his baggage and artillery.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 10. Belcar. &c. The king did not enter upon action till two months after: He advanced towards *Cambray*, and ordered *Martin du Bellay*, who since the death of his brother, had taken the name of *Langey*, to go and post himself near *Landrecy*, which he intended to take, because that little town was as it were the key to *Haynault*. He made himself master of it, and the king made part of his army fortify it, while with the rest the dauphin took the strong castle of *Aimerie* and *Maubeuge*, which were raz'd.

Lan-

Landrecy was in a ſtate of defence by the end of *July*. The king left a ſtrong garriſon in it, under the command of captain *de la Lande*, and *d'Eſſé* marched to the dutchy of *Luxembourg*, as well to be more ready to aſſiſt the duke of *Cleves*, againſt whom the emperor was marching with a numerous army, as in hopes of bringing that prince to a battle. *A. D.* 1543.

The enemy had retaken ſeveral places in the dutchy of *Luxembourg*. The king ſent thither the duke of *Orleans* with marſhal *d'Annebaut*. This prince conquered it again, with as much eaſe as he had done the year before.

The admiral advanced with ten thouſand men and four hundred gendarms, to aſſiſt the duke of *Cleves*, upon whom the emperor was coming with all his forces: But that general could not come up time enough, and he heard upon the way, that the duke had been obliged to treat with the emperor upon very diſadvantageous conditions.

The *French* had the advantage of being generally the firſt in the field in the *Netherlands*, and of executing ſome enterprize before the enemy was in a condition to hinder them; but the end of the campaign did not always anſwer the beginning, the emperor being able both to reſiſt and attack.

After all, this prince would not have been able to have done much miſchief to *France*, if he had not found means to bring the king of *England* over to his ſide. He had already been a long time ſolliciting him upon this head, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had given pope *Clement* VII. never to make an alliance with that prince, who had ſeparated from the *Roman* church, had made himſelf head of the church of *England*, openly perſecuted the catholicks in his kingdom, and one would have thought could never have been reconciled with the houſe of *Auſtria*, after the outragious affront he had paſſed upon it in repudiating the queen his wife, *Catherine* of *Arragon*: But politicks made him overlook all theſe conſiderations, and he took the advantage of the ill diſpoſition *Henry* was in at that time againſt the king of *France*.

I have ſaid, that the king of *England* was very angry at the marriage of *Magdalen* of *France* with

James

A. D. 1543. *James* V. king of *Scotland*. That princeſs dying at the end of ſix months, another match was made, which diſpleaſed him as much; it was that of *Mary* of *Lorain*, eldeſt daughter of the count of *Guiſe* with the ſame king. During theſe tranſactions king *James* died, leaving an only daughter, named *Mary*, who was but eight days old. The king of *France*, in concert with the cardinal archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, one of the lords juſtices of the kingdom, took that princeſs into his protection, and ſent ſome troops into *Scotland*. This occaſioned a diviſion in that kingdom; *James Hamilton* earl of *Arran*, who was likewiſe a lord juſtice of the kingdom, in conjunction with the cardinal, being more attached to the king of *England* than the king of *France*.

Hamilton, according to *Henry*'s deſire, uſed his endeavours to get the marriage concluded between *Edward* prince of *Wales*, and the young queen of *Scotland*, in order to unite the two kingdoms under the ſame ſovereign. The *French* faction oppoſed it, and broke it off. This compleated the exaſperation of the king of *England*, who forgetting on his ſide all that the emperor had done to deſtroy him ſince his divorce, received the propoſals which he made him, and concluded with him an offenſive alliance againſt *France*. The execution of the treaty followed pretty near upon the concluſion of it, and ten thouſand *Engliſh* landed ſhortly after in the *Netherlands*.

The emperor, after having ſubdued the duke of *Cleves*, entered with a numerous army into *Haynault*, and went at the ſame time upon the ſiege of *Landrecy* and that of *Guiſe*. Monſieur *de Briſſac*, general of the light horſe, a young lord who had already ſignalized himſelf very much at the ſiege of *Perpignan*, and had in that campaign defeated a conſiderable body of *Imperialiſts* in the *Netherlands*, and had made them raiſe the ſiege of *Bohain*, was ſent towards *Guiſe*. He found that the emperor had quitted the ſiege to unite all his forces together before *Landrecy*. He followed the *Imperial* army, charged the rear, and took *Franciſco d'Eſt*, brother to the duke of *Ferrara*, and general of the *Imperial* cavalry.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 10.

Lan-

Landrecy was at first briskly attacked, and yet better defended by the governors *de la Lande* and *d'Essé*; but *Ferdinand* of *Gonsague*, who commanded the *Imperial* army, left off exposing his troops, when he had heard what was true, that the besieged began to want provisions, and that they would soon be obliged to surrender. They gave the king notice of it by captain *d'Tville*, a *Norman* Gentleman, who had the good fortune to pass safely through the enemy's camp. *A. D.* 1543.

The king promised to come to their assistance as soon as possible, and to join battle rather than let such brave people be lost. The captain found means to get into the town again, and carried this promise to the besieged.

Accordingly, the king appeared soon within sight of the town, and gave the signal by the discharge of all his artillery. He posted himself afterwards near *Câteau-Cambresis*, to the left of the *Sambre*; upon which *Landrecy* stood, and where the best part of the *Imperial* army was. It was resolved to attack it, if the rest continued on the other side of the river; and in case that *Gonsague* unguarded that side, measures were taken to send succours into the town that way.

The thing succeeded. *Gonsague* not doubting but the king was resolved upon battle, made the greatest part of the troops which were on the other side of the *Sambre* come over the river, and left those quarters so weak, that the admiral and the count of *St. Pol*, entered the town at the head of fifteen hundred men, left those troops there, and brought out the garrison; but the convoy not being ready to go in with that guard, it was necessary to run another hazard, in order to supply the place with provisions.

The king made use of a new stratagem. He put his troops in order of battle, began some skirmishes as if he had intended to attack the camp, and during this *Langey* happily conducted a convoy into the town, having got a brook between him and a body of between a thousand and twelve hundred horse, who were coming to intercept him.

The

A. D. 1543. The king having compassed his principal design, decamped, and was followed by *Gonsague* at the head of part of the *Imperial* army: This retreat was made in good order, and monsieur *de Brissac* gained a great deal of honour by it. The emperor wanting provisions and forage, in a country which was quite destroyed, and being acquainted with the valour of the besieged by experience, chose rather to raise the siege than compleat the ruin of his army, tho' he had promised them to carry them to *Paris*, after the taking of *Landrecy*. There was an adventure pretty much like this of the siege of this little town, which happened in our own time, and in much more dangerous circumstances than *France* was then under, in the reign of *Francis* I.

The raising of the siege of *Landrecy* put an end to the campaign in the *Netherlands*: It was ended sooner in *Provence* in a manner less fortunate to the king.

The duke of *Savoy* did not at all expect to be attacked, being persuaded that the numerous army which the emperor had in the *Netherlands*, would draw all the king's attention to that side. He was very much surprized to hear that the count of *Anguien* was coming into *Provence* with a body of an army, that a fleet was equipping at *Toulon*, and that *Barberousse* king of *Algier* was sailing with his to the coast of *France*.

This was an effect of the negotiations of captain *Polin*, more known by the name of Baron *de la Garde*, the king's envoy at *Constantinople*. *Barberousse* joined the *French* fleet at *Marseille*, and went from thence upon the fifth of *August* with the count of *Anguien* to lay siege to *Nice*.

They began with the siege of the town, where *Andrew* of *Montfort* defended himself from the tenth to the twenty second of that month, sustained an assault, and afterwards surrendered the city by capitulation, having taken good measures to keep the castle a much longer time.

They attacked it, but the situation of the place made the approaches very difficult. The army wanted ammunition, and the slowness of the siege having given the marquis of *Guast* and *Andrew Doria* time to come to its assistance, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize; at which *Barberousse* expressed a

Florimond de Raymond, t. 2. *Commentaries of* Montluc, l. 1.

great

great deal of anger against the *French*, whose negligence or want of power had a second time made his efforts insignificant. *A. D.* 1543.

The duke of *Savoy* and the marquis of *Guast*, after having delivered *Nice*, returned into *Piedmont*, where they took *Mondevis*, and afterwards *Carignan*, the fortifications of which Monsieur *de Boutieres*, who commanded then in that country, had begun to demolish. The marquis of *Guast* had them rebuilt, and by this means cut off the communication of *Turin* with *Pignerol*, the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, and some other places which could be succoured no longer. This determined the king to send the count of *Anguien* to command in *Piedmont*, in the room of *Boutieres*. Guichenon. *Memoirs of* Langey. Bekar. &c.

The king had given the emperor too great an advantage, by attacking *Nice*, in conjunction with the *Turks*, for that prince to miss so good an opportunity of stirring up all the powers of christendom against him. He made a violent speech against the king upon this occasion in the diet of *Spiers*. The envoys of the duke of *Savoy* did the same; and notwithstanding the manifesto which the king sent to the diet, where they had refused to receive his ambassadors, it was concluded that war should be declared against *France* in the name of the empire, and that the emperor should be furnished with an army of twenty four thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

This prince omitted nothing to gain the *Swiss*, who had assembled a diet at *Baden*, but he prevailed nothing. He succeeded no better with the pope, who expressed his dissatisfaction at the emperor, for that he was making the king of *France* odious every where for his alliance with the *Turks*, at the same time that he paid such regards to hereticks as were no less prejudicial to religion.

The king had likewise occasion to make an apology to the *Venetians* for joining his troops with the *Turks* at the siege of *Nice*: He sent thither *John de Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*. He spoke upon this occasion in full senate, and his speech was not so ill received there, as the king's manifesto had been at the diet of *Spiers*: But what happened in *Piedmont* during these transactions, employed the emperor's thoughts. Montluc's *Commentaries*, l. 1.

The

A. D. 1543. The count of *Anguien* had no sooner taken the command, but following the views of *Boutieres* his predecessor, he endeavoured to keep the enemy at a distance from *Turin*, and to restore a communication between the places on both sides of the *Po*. His chief design was to retake *Carignan*. The large garrison, and the rigour of the winter, which was very severe this year, did not permit him to lay siege to it. He was forced to be content with a blockade.

He made himself master of *Carmagnole*, and posted his troops so well in the neighbourhood of *Carignan*, that it was impossible for the marquis of *Guast* to get any thing in thither, except he came with an army.

The preservation, or the taking of this place was of so great importance to both sides, that the two generals were resolved to try every thing, the one to take it, and the other to save it: But the count of *Anguien* had not near so many troops as the marquis of *Guast*, nor leave from the king to join battle, at a time when *France* had so many enemies upon its hands. For which reason he dispatched an officer to court, to desire succours, and know the king's mind.

A. D. 1544.

Montluc's *Commentaries*, l. 1.

This officer was *Blaise de Montluc*, a gentleman of *Gascogne*, who will be often mentioned in the course of this history. He was not as yet raised to military dignities, but was known and esteemed by the generals for excellent qualities, which brought him in time to the staff of marshal of *France*.

Being come to court, he presented the king with the letters from the count of *Anguien*, in which that prince desired leave of him to join battle, in case the enemy should endeavour to make him raise the blockade before *Carignan*. The council was called together upon this occasion. The count of *St. Pol*, the admiral, and afterwards all the rest of the council concluded not to hazard it, for that the king was in less than two months to be attacked on the side of the *Netherlands*, by the emperor and the king of *England*, and the loss of a battle would infallibly be followed by that of all *Piedmont*, in which it would be impossible for him to maintain himself.

Montluc, who was not pleased with this conclusion, had all the difficulty in the world to contain himself, but

but he durſt not take the liberty to ſpeak. The king, who perceived the violence he had in his countenance, could not help laughing, and turning towards him, ſaid: *Montluc*, do you underſtand the reaſons which oblige me to refuſe the count of *Anguien* what he deſires of me? Yes, Sire, anſwered he; but if your majeſty would give me leave to ſpeak two words, they might not perhaps appear to be ſo ſtrong. *A. D.* 1544.

The king having given him leave, he ſpoke with ſo much ſtrength, ſhewing the advantages of a victory, and aſſuring the king of the goodneſs and courage of his troops, who had all charged him to tell the king, that they would ſooner be cut in pieces to the laſt man than fall back, that his diſcourſe ſhook the king; who turning to the admiral, asked him what he thought of it.

The admiral, who ſaw that the dauphin, who was behind the king's chair, while *Montluc* ſpoke, encouraged that captain by the marks of approbation which he gave to what he ſaid, made his court to that prince, by not ſo much diſapproving of *Montluc*'s opinion, and at the ſame time to the king, whoſe mind he perceived well enough. Sire, ſaid he to him ſmiling, confeſs the truth, you conſent to a battle. I cannot anſwer for the ſucceſs, but only for the valour of your troops in *Piedmont*. I know them, and am ſure that they will fight bravely. Sire, added he, pray to God, who is the diſpenſer of victories, and do as he ſhall inſpire you.

The king accordingly uncovered himſelf, and put up a ſhort prayer upon the ſpot; and after having conſidered a moment, he ſaid to *Montluc*: Go, fight in the name of God. They all got up, and the count of *St. Pol* ſaid to *Montluc*, as he was going out: *Mad fool, as thou art, thou art going to be the author of the greateſt advantage or the greateſt misfortune that can happen to the king. My Lord*, replied *Montluc*, *be eaſy, and aſſure your ſelf, that the firſt news you receive, will be, that we ſhall have fricaſſeed them all, and may eat of them, if we pleaſe.*

He ſaid as much to the king; who ordered him to acquaint his troops, that he had not agreed to their deſire, but out of the great eſteem which he had of them.

As

A. D. 1544. As soon as the resolution of the council was made publick, a great number of lords and gentlemen left the court, and set out for *Piedmont*. *Montluc* went before them all, infinitely satisfied at having succeeded so well. He shewed the officers and soldiers the confidence which the king placed in them, and set off the compliment which he had orders to make them.

The count of *Anguien* at the height of his wishes, thought of nothing but taking the best measures he could imagine, for the execution of so important an affair, of which he should have all the glory or blame, according as it succeeded. After several motions of his army, he came upon the eleventh of *April* to the plain of *Cerisole*, within sight of the enemy, who were stronger than him by ten thousand men.

The skirmishes began early between the perdues of both parties. Those of the *French* to the number of eight hundred arquebussiers, were commanded by the captains, *Montluc*, *Hevart*, and *Casquex*. Several other detachments were sent out on both sides to take possession of some advantageous posts, for which they likewise fought. Mr. *de Langey*, who was a good judge in this matter, assures us, that he never saw upon any occasion, a better use made of the shifts and wiles of war, than the generals made of them upon this.

These skirmishes, which grew very hot, continued a long time before both armies engaged, the count of *Anguien* waiting for the enemy to come up to him, and resolving not to go to them, because he must have been exposed to the fire of their artillery, which was advantageously posted upon a little hill.

At last ten thousand lansquenets, of the body of the army, advanced slowly to attack that of the count of *Anguien*; they divided into two bodies, one of which fell upon four thousand *Swiss*, and the other upon the *French* infantry, commanded by Mr. *de Taix*, colonel general. This attack was made with a great deal of resolution, and received with as much.

At the same time the *Florentine* cavalry, which was on the left of the enemy, was detached to take Mr. *de Taix* in the flank. Mr. *de Termes*, who commanded the *French* cavalry, met them with all the squa-

squadrons of the right wing, and charged with so much vigour, that he drove the *Florentines* upon the prince of *Salernum*'s infantry, and broke through one of his battalions; but Mr. *de Termes*'s horse being killed under him, he was taken prisoner. The lansquenets and *Swiss* fought against each other with great obstinacy. *A. D.* 1544.

Mr. *de Boutieres*, though not well pleased with the court, because they had taken the government of *Piedmont* from him, yet would be in this battle; and the count of *Anguien*, who knew his ability, had given him the command of the right wing. He advanced at the first onset with eighty gendarms, between the *Swiss* and Mr. *de Taix*'s *French* infantry. He saw, that the lansquenets were pushed by the *Swiss*, and began to give way; he marched with his gendarms, and fell with so much fury upon the lansquenets, that he broke through them, and being seconded by the *Swiss*, put them to the rout, and made a great slaughter among them.

The left wing of the *French* army did not fight with the same advantage. Mr. *de Dampierre*, at the head of the cavalry of that wing, had at first much the better of the *Italian* cavalry, commanded by the prince of *Sulmona*; but the *Grison* and *Italian* infantry backed him but indifferently, and gave way before the old *Spanish* and *German* troops. The count of *Anguien* ran thither, and compleated the defeat of the enemy's cavalry; but being forsook by his infantry, and hardly able to rally his cavalry, he gave himself up for lost, and thought of nothing but dying, not bearing to survive the danger, into which he reproached himself with having brought the kingdom by his rashness; when the *Spaniards* having heard of the rout of the rest of the *Imperial* army, began all at once to disperse on all sides.

He received at the same time from colonel *Julian*, the *Swiss*, the happy news of his victory; and being joined by some other companies of horse, and several *Grisons*, who were recovered from their fright, he pursued the *Spaniards*, who were almost all either killed or taken.

A. D. 1544. The greatest slaughter of the enemy was made by the *Swiss*, who gave quarter to none, but running about like mad-men, cut their throats without mercy. They cryed out, *Mondevis*, *Mondevis*. This was a piece of revenge upon the *Imperialists*, who, after the taking of that town, had broke the capitulation, and cruelly murdered several soldiers of their nation.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 10. The number of the slain on the side of the enemy, was between ten and twelve thousand men, and that of the prisoners above three thousand; among whom there were several of the principal officers. The marquis of *Guast* escaped by the swiftness of his horse, being wounded in the thigh with an arquebusade. The *French* had not above two hundred men killed upon the spot, but the number of the wounded was very great.

The success of the battle was attributed to Mr. *de Termes*, who at first defeated the *Florentine* cavalry of the enemy's right wing; to Mr. *de Boutieres*, who took a very seasonable time to overthrow the lansquenets, with his body of gendarms; to the resolution of the count of *Anguien*, who kept up his left wing, though beaten, for a long time, to make use of the advantage which the body of his army and his right wing had over the enemy; and, lastly, to a mistake committed by the marquis of *Guast*. He had charged the prince of *Salernum* not to quit his post without an express order from him, which he did not send him; this made ten thousand *Italian* foot which that prince commanded unserviceable; for he brought them off without loss, except what were killed in a battalion which Mr. *de Termes* overthrew, after having defeated the *Florentine* cavalry.

This victory was followed with the taking of *Carignan*, which held out however two months longer, and with that of *Moncallier*, *St. Damian*, *Vigon*, *Pont d' Esture*, and the greatest part of *Montferrat*. It had been attended with much greater consequences, if the king had not been under the most pressing necessity of covering *Picardy* and *Champaign*, upon which the emperor and the king of *England* were ready to enter; which obliged the king to send for twelve thousand of his best troops out of *Piedmont*.

The

The news of this detachment removed a great piece of uneaſineſs from the emperor: For the victory of the *French* at *Ceriſoles* had occaſioned great commotions in *Italy*, and he knew, that ſeveral princes intended to leave his ſide; but the weakening of the count of *Anguien*'s army, hindered ſeveral from declaring themſelves. *A. D.* 1544.

In the mean while the emperor was already got to *Spiers* with an army, and the king of *England* was ready to come over to *Calais*, with thirty thouſand men. He was to be joined there by the troops of the *Netherlands*; and all the forces of the two princes together were to make an army of eighty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe.

Their deſign at firſt was not to ſtop any where to lay ſiege, but to march ſtrait to *Paris*, by two different ways, to join their armies there, and oblige the king either to join battle, or ſee the kingdom from the frontiers to the *Seine* ravaged before his eyes.

The king of *England* came firſt. He found *Picardy* but indifferently guarded with troops; becauſe the king had ſent his chief forces into *Champaign*, to oppoſe the firſt efforts of the emperor there. As the private views of princes united together, uſually prevail over the common intereſt, the king of *England* wanted nothing more to make him quit the deſign of marching towards *Paris*, contrary to the agreement he had made with the emperor. He thought, that as there were no ſuccours to be expected by the places which he ſhould attack, he might eaſily make himſelf maſter of them; and that the conqueſts he ſhould gain, would be more advantageous to him than ravaging the kingdom of *France*. And therefore under pretence, that it would be dangerous to leave ſo many ſtrong places behind him, he reſolved to lay ſiege to *Boulogne* and *Monſtreuil* at the ſame time. He took the firſt upon himſelf, and left that of *Monſtreuil* to the care of the duke of *Norfolk*, and the counts of *Roeux* and *Bures*, generals of the troops of the *Netherlands*.

The emperor being informed of this proceeding of the king of *England*, was reſolved likewiſe on his ſide to make conqueſts. He ſent the count of *Fuſtemberg*,

A. D. 1544. *berg*, who had quitted the king's side a little while before, to besiege *Luxembourg*. This place, for want of ammunition and provisions, held out but fifteen days, and was surrender'd by capitulation.

The emperor went afterwards, and presented himself before *Commerci*, and then before *Ligni* and *Barrois*. He supposed, that these little towns would not keep him; they defended themselves however, and detained him several days.

His design was to march from thence to *Chalons* upon the *Marne*, to lay siege to it: But the duke of *Nevers* being got into the place with some good troops, the emperor durst not attack it, but turned to *St. Disier*, a town situated upon the same river.

This was an important pass, but a very sorry town. *Lewis de Bueil*, count of *Sancerre*, undertook to defend it, and supplied the place of every thing by his valour, prudence, and activity. He kept this place seven weeks, when it was not expected he could hold out seven days, and did not surrender at last, till after he had obtained the king's consent.

This opposition began to make the emperor fear he was as much mistaken in this expedition, as in that of *Provence*. His army after the siege was very much fatigued and weakened, and that of the king, under the command of the dauphin, and the duke of *Orleans*, who had marshal *d'Annebaut* for their lieutenant general, was formed. It consisted of above forty thousand men. Mr. *de Brissac*, who was detached from it, very much perplexed that of the emperor during the siege of *St. Disier*. The ministers of that prince being sollicited by *Eleanor* the queen of *France*, his sister, and apprehensive of the different success of this campaign, spoke to him with freedom, and represented to him, that the places he had taken were too weak to hope to maintain winter quarters in *France*; that if he advanced farther, he would expose himself to the danger of having his retreat cut off by the *French* army; that they ought not to rely any longer upon the king of *England*, who had been for three months destroying his troops before *Boulogne* and *Monstrueil* without having been able to compass his end; that according to all appearance, after having

Belcarius, l. 24.

ving taken those two places, and well fortified them, the advanced season would make him return over sea; and that at the end of the campaign it would be found, that the prodigious expences the empire had been at in hopes of crushing the *French*, had been of service to none but the king of *England*; that it was better to take the advantage of the favourable juncture to make peace with the king of *France*; and that the impendence of the danger, from which that prince did not yet think himself entirely delivered, would make him grant much more than he would do, if the *Imperial* army was forced to return to the *Netherlands* and *Germany*. *A. D.* 1544.

The emperor yielding to these reasons, thought of nothing now but laying the fault upon the king of *England*, by challenging him to execute the treaty, and come and join him in order to march together to *Paris*. The king of *England* answered, as had been imagined, that he would join him as soon as he had taken *Monstrueil* and *Boulogne*; but that to raise those two sieges would be too great an affront to him and the *English* nation. *Memoirs of Langey, l. 10.*

Upon this answer the emperor accepted the offer which the king made him of treating about peace; but for all this, there was no cessation of arms. The deputies of the two parties met at *la Chausſée*, between *Chalons* and *Vitri*. The king sent cardinal *du Bellay* to the king of *England*, to propose to him to send his plenipotentiaries likewise to the conferences; but he refused to do it: However he was not so averse, but he hearkened to some proposals which the cardinal made him.

In the mean while the conferences at *la Chausſée* had no success; and during this time the emperor seised upon *Château-Thierry*, and the great magazines of provisions which were there, and which his army was in great need of for their subsistance.

The taking of *Château-Thierry*, was the effect of an intrigue at court, where there were two parties very opposite to each other; that of the dauphin, and that of the duke of *Orleans*. The jealousy of two ladies occasioned or kept up this division. The one was dutchess of *Estampes*, who had for a long time been mistress of the king's mind and heart; the other *Belcar. l. 24.*

A. D. 1544. was *Diana* of *Poitiers*. She, tho' already advanced in age, had preserved all her beauty, the charms of which, together with her wit, had very much engaged the dauphin to her; and the more zealous *Diana* of *Poitiers* appeared for the interests of that prince, the more ardently did the dutchess of *Estampes* maintain those of the duke of *Orleans*.

In the assembly of *la Chaussée*, it had been proposed to marry the duke of *Orleans* to the emperor's eldest daughter, or to the second daughter of the king of the *Romans*; and in consequence of this marriage the emperor was to give him the *Milaneze*, or the *Netherlands*, with the counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, upon certain conditions; one of which was, that the king should renounce for him and his Successors all his pretensions to the *Milaneze* and the kingdom of *Naples*, and the jurisdiction over, and dependency of the counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

The dauphin looked upon this article to be as prejudicial to him, as it was advantageous to the duke of *Orleans*, and he would have been rejoiced to have seen the negotiations quite broken off.

In the mean time the dutchess of *Estampes*, who had promised the duke of *Orleans* to get a peace concluded, was continually laying before the king the necessity of it for the preservation of his kingdom: But finding that the emperor's retreat to the *Netherlands*, to which he would soon be obliged, for want of provisions, hinder'd the treaty from being resumed, and delivered the king from the uneasiness which had disposed him the most to agree to the conferences, she resolved to prevent the emperor's decampment, and to give him even an opportunity of coming much nearer *Paris*.

She therefore offered that prince, that he should surprise the magazines at *Epernai*, and those at *Château-Thierry*, where he would find wherewith to supply his army with provisions. *Nicholas de Longueval*, lord of *Bossu*, was the person whom she made use of to manage this intrigue; and it was he who corrupted the captain, whom the dauphin had ordered to break down the bridge of *Epernai*; but who did not perform it. The emperor took possession of it, and made himself master of the town, and afterwards of the

castle

caſtle of *Thierry*. He advanced as far as even into *Soiſſonnois*, and the dauphin was obliged to ſend a large detachment of his army to *Paris*, to ſecure that capital. *A. D.* 1544.

The king was very uneaſy to ſee the emperor ſo near. He received, at the ſame time, a letter from marſhal *du Biez*, who defended *Monſtrueil*, in which he ſent him word that he was put to great neceſſities. He heard, likewiſe, that *Philip Corſe*, a man of valour and experience, who held out the ſiege of *Boulogne*, was killed. All this obliged him to ſend the admiral to the emperor, to reſume the negotiation. This lord found him more diſpos'd to hearken to him than he expected, becauſe the magazines of *Epernai* and *Château-Thierry* having ſoon been emptied, his army began to be in want again, and he had a great deal of difficulty to keep the *Germans* within bounds.

The conferences were reſumed, and the treaty was concluded at *Crepi* in *Valois*, upon the eighteenth of *September*. The principal condition was what had been already propoſed, and which was agreed to, namely, that the duke of *Orleans* ſhould marry *Mary* of *Auſtria*, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, or the ſecond daughter of the king of the *Romans*; and that by this marriage he ſhould have the *Milaneze* or the *Netherlands*, with the counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, as the emperor ſhould chuſe: That if this prince ſhould determine to part with the *Netherlands*, the king ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the *Milaneze* and the kingdom of *Naples*; and moreover that all that had been taken from the king by the emperor, or from the emperor by the king, ſince the truce of *Nice*, ſhould be reſtored on both ſides. *Collection of Treaties by Leonard, t. 2.*

The king obliged himſelf likewiſe not to intermeddle by the way of arms in the difference between *Henry d'Albret* and the emperor, relating to the kingdom of *Navarre*; but he could only uſe his endeavours to bring about an accommodation between thoſe two princes; and as to the complaints he might have againſt the king of *England*, he referred the arbitration of them to the emperor; but the king of *England* foreſeeing, that by the accommodation he ſhould be obliged to reſtore *Boulogne* which he had

A. D. 1544. just taken, he would not be comprehended in the treaty.

This place was surrendered through want of resolution and experience in the sieur *de Vervin*, who was governor of it, and who having lost *Philip Corse*, an old officer, who had had the management of the siege till his death, capitulated against the inclination of the citizens themselves, at a time when the king and the dauphin were marching to the assistance of the place, and when the *English* durst not have staid, all their troops being in an ill condition. It cost *Vervin* his head afterwards.

Montluc's commentaries, l. 2.

The king of *England* thought his honour safe by the taking of *Boulogne*, and seeing the vigorous resistance of marshal *du Biez* at *Monstrueil*, he ordered the duke of *Norfolk* to raise the siege. He left *Boulogne* in so ill a condition, that if the rains had not come on, the dauphin would easily have retaken it; but the ground and roads became unpassable.

As to *Piedmont*, the war was carried on there with less vigour, because both sides had but few troops in that country. The peace was proclaimed there, and according to the treaty of *Crepi*, the places which had been taken since the truce of *Nice*, were reciprocally restored.

The peace with the emperor gave *France* a great deal of joy; but the dauphin was very much vexed at it, for the reasons I mentioned, looking upon the renunciations which the king had made, in order to get the *Milaneze* or the *Netherlands* and *Burgundy* for the duke of *Orleans*, as a great injury done to him for the advantage of his brother. He made a private protestation against the treaty of *Crepi* in the presence of some notaries. The advocate-general and attorney-general did the like without doubt upon the same motives on the twenty second of *January*; but the death of the duke of *Orleans*, which happened some months after, was the unravelling of all these intrigues, and restored the dauphin to all his rights. He died upon the eighth of *September*, at *Forest-Montier* in *Picardy*, of a malignant fever. This young prince had a great deal of valour, but was very loose and irregular in his behaviour. Several persons thought that his death was no disadvantage to *France*, because

Collection of treaties by Leonard, t. 2. *A. D.* 1545.

becauſe the two brothers did not love one another; and there was reaſon to fear a civil war in caſe the king ſhould chance to die. *A. D.* 1545.

Every body was perſuaded that the emperor, whatever grief he might expreſs at this death, was leaſt of all concerned at it; for it could not be imagined that he was really reſolved to part the *Milaneze*, or the *Netherlands*, from his monarchy; and for this reaſon it was doubted whether the life or death of that prince would have contributed moſt to the preſervation of the peace.

In the mean while, *France* had ſtill the *Engliſh* for its enemy; and the king was reſolved to carry on the war againſt them with vigour by ſea and land. He ſent ſome troops into *Scotland*, under the command of Mr. *de Lorges*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, who were likewiſe at war with *England*. *Memoirs of* Bellay, l. 10. Montluc's commentaries, l. 2. Belcar, l. 24.

He went to work without delay, upon a great armament by ſea, and ſent for part of his troops out of *Piedmont*; the peace which was concluded with the emperor not requiring ſo great a number there.

It was the baron *de la Garde* who brought theſe troops out of *Piedmont*; and as he was upon the road, he performed in concert with the baron *d'Oppede*, firſt preſident of the parliament of *Aix*, a ſtrange execution. It was that which is called in our hiſtory the *Execution of Cabrieres and Mérindol*.

Cabrieres was a little city in *Comtat*, and *Mérindol* a large market-town in *Provence*, which borders upon *Comtat*. The inhabitants were infected with the errors of the *Vaudois*: They kept correſpondence with the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, and there was certain advice that they had a deſign to ſurprize *Marſeille*. In the year 1540 the famous lawyer *Chaſſanée*, then firſt preſident of *Provence*, had paſſed a ſevere arret againſt thoſe two places, by which they were ſentenced to be razed, the maſters of families condemned to the flames, and the effects of the inhabitants confiſcated.

The execution of this arret was ſuſpended, becauſe it was looked upon to be too ſevere; but as theſe inhabitants continued their ill practices, the king, who, by reaſon of the troubles in *Germany*, was very apprehenſive of a religious war in his kingdom, ſent orders

A. D. 1545. orders to the first president of *Oppede* to execute the arret of the year 1540.

Hist. Thuani, l. 5. *Plea of* Imberi, *upon the execution of* Cabrieres *and* Merindol.

It was executed in concert with the legate of *Avignon*, by the troops of the baron *de la Garde*. *Cabrieres* and *Mérindol*, with several other towns and villages, were sacked and reduced to ashes. There were very great cruelties committed there, the soldiers being always soldiers, and the motive of religion having no effect over them upon these occasions, but to make them carry their fury to the most frightful excess. They were very much disapproved of at court, and in the next reign there was a great stir about it in the parliament of *Provence*. The president of *Oppede*, and the baron *de la Garde* got off by means of their friends; but the advocate-general *Guerin*, who had not so good a support, was beheaded in consequence of the arret of the grand house of parliament of *Paris*, passed upon the third of *February*, in the year 1552.

After this sacking, the baron *de la Garde* pursued his journey, and brought his troops to *Havre*, to embark with them on board the fleet which waited for him. It consisted of an hundred and fifty large round ships, as they called men of war at that time, besides sixty of a less size, and five and twenty galleys. Admiral *d'Annebaut* was to command this fleet, and the five and twenty galleys were to be under the baron *de la Garde*.

The army by land consisted of near forty thousand men, with whom the king was to lay siege to *Guisnes* himself, and ravage what is called the country of *Oye*, from whence *Boulogne* had its subsistance. Marshal *du Biex* raised a fort, which was called the *Fort d'Outre Eau*, just by the entrance of the port of *Boulogne*, from whence to batter all the ships that should endeavour to assist that place.

In the beginning of *July* admiral *d'Annebaut* prepared to set sail; but an accident happened, which was looked upon as an ill omen for that expedition. The admiral's ship, called the *Carracon*, took fire: She had a hundred large pieces of brass cannon, and the money for the payment of the troops was on board of her. The fire broke out at the time that the king was preparing a great feast to entertain the court

court ladies before the departure of the fleet. Notwithstanding all their endeavours, they could not put out the fire; and all that they could do, was to save the money, and the greatest part of the soldiers and sailors. *A. D.* 1545.

The admiral, however, put to sea, and came within sight of the *Isle of Wight*, where the *English* fleet was got together. They cannonaded each other with no effect. The next day the admiral, finding that the enemy would not advance, took the opportunity of a calm to attack it with his galleys.

They did so with success for an hour, while the calm lasted. The *Mary-Rose*, one of the largest ships in the *English* fleet, was sunk; and the *Great-Henry*, which had the admiral of *England* on board of her, was so battered, that she must have been lost, if she had not been towed away immediately.

A wind rising, which blew off from the land, the *French* galleys were in their turn in great danger, the *English* admiral having sent out some *Ramberges* after them; but the men who were on board the galleys managed their tackle so well, that they retreated without great loss to the *French* fleet, which waited for the *English* to fight them if they advanced; but they did not remove from the island.

Admiral *d'Annebaut* made a descent upon the *Isle of Wight*, to draw the *English* fleet to a battle. They made some ravage there, and there were pretty smart skirmishes between the militia of the island and the troops that landed; but the proposal which the admiral made of fortifying himself in the island, not being approved in the council of war, he set sail for the *French* coast. A contrary wind blew him back upon the *English* fleet. They cannonaded each other again till night, and afterwards he brought his fleet back to *Havre*. Thus ended the campaign at sea.

The exploits of the army by land were not much more considerable. The fort *d'Outre Eau* was built so ill, that they could not make use of it to hinder an entrance into the port of *Boulogne*. The rains which fell made the siege of *Guisnes* impossible. They made their way, however, into the country of *Oye*, where the *English* were beaten. They were resolved to have their revenge, and came to the number of

eight

A. D. 1545. eight thousand men to attack the fort *d'Outre Eau*, which was not yet in a condition of defence; but they were repulsed with great loss by *Theobald Rouhaut*, lord of *Rion*, who commanded there, and by captain *Ville Franche*, his lieutenant.

The death of the duke of *Orleans*, whose marriage with the emperor's eldest daughter had been as it were the foundation of the treaty of *Crepi*, made the king apprehensive that the peace with that prince would not be of any long continuance. He was confirmed in this thought by the manner of the emperor's speaking to the admiral and the chancellor *Oliver*, when he sent them to the emperor upon the account of the alterations, which it was proper to make in the treaty, by reason of the accident which had happened. They could not bring him to enter into a negotiation, and they received no other answer, but that he was not resolved to renew the war, unless he had occasion given him for it.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 10.

Notwithstanding the mutual distrusts of these two princes, which always continued, they acted in concert at that time in an affair which was of the last importance to restore tranquillity to the church. It was the calling of a general council, which was concluded on between them and the pope, and opened this year at *Trent* in *Italy*, upon the confines of *Germany*, after a good many cavils made by the emperor and his ministers, though he was the most interested in it of any one, by reason of the progress which Lutheranism made every day in *Germany*, and which he foresaw would come to a civil war. The king, on his side, contributed willingly to it through the zeal that he had for religion, and in hopes that after the decisions of a general council the emissaries of the innovators, who crept from time to time into the kingdom, would meet with the less credit there.

A. D. 1547.

This prince would have wish'd as much to have seen the war with *England* ended; but he would have *Boulogne* again; and to bring it about, he made great preparations. Both parties fought vigorously on that side, and the *English* were twice beaten before the opening of the campaign by marshal *du Biez*, who commanded in those parts. These preludes, and the extraordinary preparations which were making in

France,

France, disturbed the king of *England:* He made the first motion, and proposed to the king to bring their difference to a negotiation. *A. D.* 1547.

The proposal was accepted: Admiral *d' Annebaut*, and the sieur *Raymond*, first president of the parliament of *Roüen*, were named by the king; and my lord *Dudley*, who was admiral of *England*, by *Henry*. The peace was concluded upon the seventh of *June*; and the substance of the conditions of the treaty was, That the king of *France*, in the space of eight years, should pay the king of *England* eight hundred thousand crowns, to defray the expences of the war, and in particular of the fortifications he had made at *Boulogne*, and some other places in *Boulonnois*, and to be an equivalent for the pensions which they had left off paying him; and that at the end of eight years that prince should restore *Boulogne* and all *Boulonnois* to the king. *Collection of Treaties by Leonard, t. 2.*

There is one thing remarkable in this treaty: It is that *Henry* VIII. among his titles, takes two, the union of which must appear to be very extravagant; namely, that of *Defender of the Faith*, which pope *Leo* X. had given him upon the account of a book which he wrote, or which was publish'd in his name, against *Luther*, and that of *Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland*, titles which certainly are very incompatible.

This was the last treaty which he made with *France*; for he died seven months after, that is, upon the eighteenth of *January*, the year following, being fifty seven years of age, and about the end of the thirty eighth of a reign infinitely fatal to religion; for his scandalous schism opened the gate soon after his death to the heresy which infected all *England*, and afterwards the kingdom of *Scotland*. The sanguinary temper of this prince contributed no less to render his memory odious to posterity, than his excessive irregularities.

He left three children; namely, *Mary*, by queen *Catherine* of *Arragon*, *Edward* by *Jane Seymour*, and *Elizabeth* by *Ann Bullen*. He settled the crown upon *Edward*; upon *Mary* after him, and *Elizabeth* after *Mary*; ordering, that if they had no issue, the kingdom should return to those to whom it belonged by the laws and custom of the realm.

The

A. D. 1547. The news of his death was told the king at *St. Germain en Laye*; and he was very much afflicted at it, because he loved that prince, and hoped to keep him to his side, knowing he was very much dissatisfied with the emperor. It was observed, that this news made a great impression upon his mind. He was pretty near of the same age, and the same complection, had been but too subject to the same irregularities, and his health was very much altered by them. But he followed him much closer than he expected; for he out-lived him but two months. He died at *Rambouillet*, of an ulcer between the anus and the scrotum, occasioned by his incontinence. He received the sacraments of the church with great signs of penitence.

Memoirs of Langey, l. 10.

It was upon the last day of *March* that *France* suffered this loss; for whatever some historians may say, it was really so to this kingdom. Age and experience had ripened his judgment, which was a little too lively, too enterprizing, not careful or diligent enough; for he had minded for a great part of his reign his pleasures more than the affairs of his kingdom, and than taking good precautions in the great designs which he formed, and which his negligence or rashness rendered fatal to his realm and his own person.

The qualities of the enemy he had to do with, made his defects appear much more than they would have done in other circumstances. They had both a great deal of spirit, valour, and ambition; but in *Charles* V. all this was supported by abundance of application, prudence, subtlety, and cunning; but it was put to an indifferent use by *Francis* I. who was often too frank and open, too easy to be seduced by the appearance of pretended sincerity, which made him fall into the snares that were laid for him in all the negotiations, and particularly in the interviews which he had with the emperor, who always made him his dupe at those times.

He was affable, familiar with his courtiers, liberal, but an ill manager. He was not only lively, but likewise penetrating; had a quick genius, and an happy memory. He expressed himself easily, nobly, with spirit, and even a great deal of eloquence, when he

he had occasion. He had a good taste for the polite arts, he loved the conversation of learned men, and had improved so much by it, that though he had studied but very little during his youth, he spoke upon all manner of subjects with as much judgment and discretion, as even those who had examined into them with the greatest care and application. *A. D.* 1547.

The taste of this prince for the sciences made them flourish, during his reign, in the kingdom, where, before his time, they had been little cultivated. He founded a great number of professorships in the university of *Paris*. Learning was a certain way for persons of quality to come to favour, if they had in other respects what was necessary to qualify them for great employs.

Notwithstanding the passion of love, to which this prince abandoned himself, he always preserved a good bottom of religion, and as well through a true piety, as through a wise piece of policy, he took all possible precautions to prevent the innovations in matters of religion from bringing themselves into his kingdom.

He was of an high stature, and pretty well proportioned, except that his legs were a little too slender. He had a large forehead, brisk eyes, his nose was long, and a little hooked, his complection fair, and his hair black, and he had majesty and sweetness in his countenance.

He had by *Claudia* of *France*, his first wife, three sons; the eldest *Francis*, the dauphin, and the duke of *Orleans* the third, who died during his life-time, and *Henry* who was his successor to the crown. He had likewise four daughters; *Louisa* and *Charlotte*, who died young, *Magdalen*, who married *James* V. king of *Scotland*, and lived but a little time after her marriage; and *Margaret* of *France*, who, in the reign of her brother *Henry* II. married *Emanuel Philbert*, duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1559.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Henry II.

A. D. 1547. HENRY II. of that name, king of *France*, aſcended the throne upon the thirty firſt of *March*, which was the very day that nine and twenty years before he came into the world. He had already given proofs of his courage at the head of armies, and the temper and moderation which he had ſhewed in his conduct, gave hopes of a reign leſs diſturbed than that of his predeceſſor: Theſe hopes, however, were not anſwered. The wars which were carried on during this prince's life-time, tho' leſs fatal to the kingdom, were not much leſs frequent or leſs bloody than they had hitherto been; and at the time that he concluded them, in a manner that ſeemed to render the peace laſting, he was taken off from *France* by an accident, which plunged it into the greateſt misfortunes.

He was crowned at *Reims*, upon the twenty ſixth of *July*. His coronation was preceded and followed by a great many alterations at court. Marſhal *d' Annebaut* had no more ſhare in the government, and the

Belcar. l. 25. Thuanus, l. 4.

the conſtable *Montmorenci* being recalled from his exile at *Chantilli*, retook his place, which that lord had had. Cardinal *de Tournon*, with equal vexation, ſaw himſelf excluded from the council, and ſupplanted by *Francis* duke of *Aumale*, ſon of *Claude* count of *Guiſe*. Chancellor *Oliver* was removed from court. *John du Thiert*, and *Coſmo de Clauſſe de Marquamont* were made ſecretaries of ſtate, and took the places of *Gilbert Bayard*, and the ſieur *de Villeroy*. *Peter Lizet*, firſt preſident of the parliament of *Paris*, was obliged to reſign, and that office was given to *John Bertrandi* preſident of the parliament of *Toulouſe*. The marſhal *du Biez* was brought to his trial, and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment; and *James de Coucy de Vervin*, his ſon-in-law, for having ſurrendered *Boulogne* ſome years before, without defending it ſufficiently, had his head cut off. *A. D.* 1547.

Theſe changes of fortune, which happened in the ſpace of the two or three firſt years of the new reign, were for the moſt part the conſequences of the diſgrace of the dutcheſs of *Eſtampes*, and of the favour of *Diana* of *Poitiers*: The firſt had had all the power in the reign of *Francis* I. the ſecond had the ſame in that of *Henry* II. and their friends ſhared in their fortune.

In theſe revolutions, ſo uſual at court, when it changes its maſter, *Henry* thought he had nothing to reproach himſelf with, having ſupplied the places of cardinal *de Tournon*, and admiral *d'Annebaut* with two ſo great men, as the conſtable and the duke of *Aumale* were, both very capable of aſſiſting him in his council, and at the head of his armies againſt the formidable enemy, whom, according to all appearance, he was ſoon to have upon his hands: For it was this year that *Charles* V. ſaw himſelf at the higheſt point of his good fortune, glory, and power. He had juſt ended very gloriouſly the war which he had at laſt declared againſt the proteſtants of *Germany* of the *Smalcaldic* league by the battle of *Mulberg*, and he had got the two heads of them priſoners, *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* landgrave of *Heſſe*. *France* had very much thwarted him in this war, and he was reſolved to be revenged of it; but before that, he was reſolved to ſettle the tranquillity of *Germany*.

Several original letters in the library of preſident de Lamoignon.

A. D. 1547. This resolution which the emperor took, gave the king an opportunity of breaking the measures of the court of *England*, to bring about the marriage of young king *Edward* to *Mary Stuart*, heiress of the crown of *Scotland*. He acted so strenuously by his ambassadors, and the troops which he sent into *Scotland*, where they performed wonders, that the negotiations, and even the intreaties of the *English* signified nothing. The young queen of *Scotland* was brought into *France* to be educated there, till her marriage with the dauphin, who was afterwards king *Francis* II. and *Henry* by this means prevented the union of the crowns of *England* and *Scotland* under the same prince: A union which for several ages had always been looked upon as what would be very prejudicial to *France*.

The success which he had in this important affair, could not fail of disposing the *English* to enter into the emperor's designs, and join with him against *France*, as soon as either side should come to a rupture. For which reason the king resolved to put his kingdom into a condition of defending itself against these two powerful and irreconcilable enemies.

The people were perfectly obedient; and he had nothing to fear from that quarter, but the disturbances which the innovations in matters of religion might raise among them, the fatal examples of which in *Germany*, made him very careful and vigilant upon this head. He renewed the severe edicts of the late king against the innovators, and took care to have them executed.

He made several regulations among his troops, and was resolved to see the state of his frontiers himself. He went into *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Savoy*, and passed over into *Piedmont*. At *Moulins* he married *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, duke of *Vendôme*, to *Jane d'Albret*, only daughter and heiress of *Henry* king of *Navarre*, and *Margaret* of *France*, his sister. Of this marriage was born, some time after, *Henry*, who was afterwards king of *France*, the fourth of that name.

A. D. 1548. But when the king was on the other side of the mountains, he heard a piece of news which disturbed the satisfaction he received from the acclamations of the people wherever he came. It was the rebel-

Annals of France. *Belcar. l.* 25.

rebellion which broke out in *Angoumois*, on account of the exciſe upon ſalt, and ſome violences committed by thoſe who levied thoſe taxes. It ſpread into *Xaintonge*, *Perigord*, *Agenois*, *Limouſin*, *Gaſcogne*, *Poitou*, and, laſtly, *Guyenne*, where the common people roſe. The peaſants flocked together to the number of forty thouſand men, and committed terrible diſorders in all the provinces: The fury of the people of *Bourdeaux*, proceeded ſo far as to murder monſieur *de Monneins*, governor of the caſtles of the city, and to commit a thouſand indignities upon his body after his death. *A. D.* 1548.

Some days after, however, the parliament took the matter in hand; and being ſupported by the principal citizens, cauſed a merchant, whoſe name was *Francis de la Vergne*, who had been one of the heads of the ſedition, to be drawn aſunder by four horſes; and during this, *St. Foy*, brother to the ſieur *de Jarnac*, came thither, and by the promiſes which he made in the king's name, of hearing the complaints they had to make againſt his officers, entirely appeaſed the ſedition.

This news very much rejoiced the king; but the arrival of the conſtable and the duke of *Aumale*, with ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, removed all the uneaſineſs about *Bourdeaux*, the revolt of which might have been attended with worſe conſequences, by reaſon of its nearneſs to the ſea, and the eaſe with which that town might by this means have called in foreign ſuccours.

The troops entered into it, as into a town they had conquered, and took poſſeſſion of all the poſts. The citizens were diſarmed, their charters thrown into the fire, and among other ſatisfactions which were required of them, the aldermen were condemned to come in a mourning habit, with a lighted torch in their hands, and do the *amende honorable* before the conſtable's quarters, and ask pardon of God, the king, and juſtice, for their rebellion, and in particular for the murder of monſieur *de Monneins*. Monſieur *du Lude* was made governor of the town, and they left him a neceſſary number of gendarms, and other troops, to keep the people to their duty and obedience. *Annals of France*, 1.6.

A. D. 1548. After *Bourdeaux* was curbed, commissioners were sent into the provinces that had rebelled, and some examples were made as at *Bourdeaux*, of those who were the most guilty. Every thing being entirely pacified, the constable and the duke of *Aumale* went back to the king, and joined him again.

This prince, whose authority was the better established by this rebellion, having put all his frontiers into a good condition, began to be in very little pain about the resentment of the *English* at the marriage of the queen of *Scotland*, but even resolved to declare war against them, if they refused to restore *Boulogne* to him without any delay, upon the condition of the reimbursement which had been agreed on in the last reign by the treaty made at the camp between *Guyennes* and *Ardres*.

Du Tillet, *Collection of treaties.*

This was a very favourable juncture, because *England* was at that time torn with civil wars, and the emperor, notwithstanding his victory, was very much embarassed in *Germany*; for not only the protestant, but likewise the catholick princes there shewed their dissatisfaction at his usage of the lantgrave of *Hesse*, whom he had put in prison, notwithstanding the assurances which *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, and *Joachim* elector of *Brandenbourg*, had given the lantgrave of his liberty, and even of the restitution of part of his dominions.

Belcar. l. 25. Thuan. l. 4. *Annals of France.* *A. D.* 1549. The king therefore taking the advantage of this opportunity, fell upon the *Boulonnois* with an army. They began with attacking several forts which covered *Boulogne*; the fort of *Sellaque* was carried sword in hand; the others were either abandoned, or taken by capitulation. There remained none but the tower of *Ordre*, which was difficult to attack, and the more so, by reason of the autumn rains. They contented themselves with blocking it up, and preventing any thing from entering into *Boulogne* by land.

Before these conquests *Leo Strozzi*, who commanded the *French* fleet, had beaten that of *England*, and sunk several of the enemies ships. *Paul de Termes*, who commanded the *French* troops in *Scotland*, had gained several advantages over the *English*. And lastly, *Boulogne* was so hard pressed, that it was look-

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ed upon as loſt. All theſe reaſons prevailed upon the wiſeſt of the *Engliſh* council to terminate their differences with *France*; and they offered to reſtore that place, upon the conditions of the treaty made between *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. The thing was concluded upon the 24th of *March*, and the king conſented to pay four hundred thouſand crowns at two payments. The kingdom of *Scotland* was included in the treaty; and it was ſtipulated that the king of *England* ſhould not attack it upon any of the antient grounds of quarrel, nor at all, unleſs the *Scots* ſhould give new occaſions. A. D. 1549. A. D. 1550. Du Tillet. collection of treaties. Leonard. collection of treaties. t. 2.

This peace was very diſpleaſing to the emperor, who, notwithſtanding his large dominions, was not very formidable to *France* without the diverſion of the *Engliſh*, as may be obſerved from the preceding reign. He affected, however, not to ſeem diſturbed at it. All his attention was upon the affairs of *Germany*, where he knew the princes were moſt of them exaſperated at the imperious manner with which he governed them, and waited only for an opportunity to throw off the yoke.

The king, on the other hand, tho' firmly reſolved not to bear the haughtineſs which the emperor often uſed towards *Francis* I. yet kept within bounds, and contented himſelf with carrying on correſpondence with ſeveral courts of *Germany*, where his private agents were very diligent in informing themſelves of what paſſed there: But the intereſts of the two princes were ſo oppoſite, that it was an hard matter for peace to continue between them; and accordingly, in the year following, the ſwords were drawn upon the occaſion I am going to relate. A. D. 1551.

Peter Lewis Farneze duke of *Parma*, the pope's ſon, had been killed at *Placentia* in a ſedition, in the year 1547. The pope was perſuaded that the emperor's miniſters had an hand in this murder, or at leaſt that it was not committed without their conſent. This prince was very firmly attached to *France*, and for that reaſon very much hated by the emperor, who would never agree to the donation which the pope had made him of *Parma* and *Placentia*, tho' after his death thoſe two dutchies were to revert to *Octavio Farneze*, who had married *Margaret* of *Auſtria*

A. D. 1551. the emperor's natural daughter. *Ferdinand de Gonsague*, governor of *Milan*, seized upon *Placentia*, after the death of duke *Peter*, and likewise endeavoured to do the same by *Parma*, pretending that those two cities were fiefs of the empire, and dismembered from the *Milaneze*. *Gonsague*'s pretence for seizing upon *Placentia*, was, that he apprehended it would be given to the *French*, and that the peace of *Italy* would be disturbed by it. All this joined to the liberty which the emperor took of allowing in *Germany* the use of the cup, that is, the communion under both kinds, and the marriage of priests, waiting till the council had settled the affairs of religion, had extreamly irritated the pope against him.

Palavicin. Hist. Concil. Trid. l. 11. The pope's anger proceeded so far, that he made a proposal to the king of an alliance with the holy see against the emperor, and at the same time of the marriage of *Horace Farneze* duke of *Castro*, younger brother of *Octavio*, to *Diana* of *France*, the king's natural daughter, who was legitimated. The marriage met with no difficulty, especially as the pope offered to transfer the government of *Parma* and *Placentia* to *Horace*, by taking it from *Octavio*; but the pope's great age prevented the king from concluding the alliance, for he died during these transactions in *November*, in the year 1549.

His successor was cardinal *John-Mary du Mont*, who took the name of *Julius* III. and who loved the family of his predecessor, but would not fall out with the emperor for the private interests of *Horace* and *Octavio Farneze*, out of whose hands he intended to take the *Parmesan*, and then come to an accommodation with *Charles* V. upon that article: But the two brothers finding themselves upon the point of being dispossessed of their principalities, threw themselves into the arms of the king of *France*, who took them under his protection.

In the mean time *Ferdinand de Gonsague* seized upon *Bersselle*, and made preparations for entering into the *Parmesan*. This hostility determined the *Farnezes* to receive into *Parma* and the other towns the *French* troops which were got together in *Mirandole*, the count of which was on the king's side. The *French* and *Imperial* parties began to scour about the coun-

country, and charge each other, not only in *Italy*, but likewise upon the frontiers of *Picardy* and the *Netherlands*; and thus the war was declared between the emperor and the king, by facts, without a proclamation. A. D. 1551.

Charles de Coſſé, count of *Briſſac*, had juſt been made governor of the *French Piedmont*, and had been honoured with the ſtaff of marſhal of *France*, vacant by the death of the prince of *Melphe*. He was one of the greateſt officers that *France* had at that time: He took the field about the end of *Auguſt*, and made himſelf maſter of *Quiers*, *St. Damian*, and ſome other fortreſſes; and *Ferdinand de Gonſague* being afraid for the *Milaneze*, raiſed the blockade which he had formed round *Parma*, and came towards *Milan*. Memoirs of Villars, l. 1.

The emperor being informed of the expedition of marſhal *Briſſac*, and knowing that Mr. *de Termes* was got into *Parma*, and Mr. *de Sanſac* into *Mirandole*, to defend them, took care to publiſh every where that it was the king who had broken the peace. He made ſtill more noiſe upon the account of the war which the *Turks* declared againſt him, as well as againſt the king of the *Romans* his brother. It was, he ſaid in his manifeſto's, the king of *France*, who, after the example of his father, ſtirred up the infidels againſt the chriſtian princes. Theſe manifeſto's were ſtrongly refuted; and it is certain that the emperor and the king of the *Romans* had themſelves given, at leaſt, pretences more than ſufficient for ſo proud a prince as *Solyman* to declare war againſt them.

The ill ſucceſs of the war in *Piedmont*, and the *Parmeſan*, very much diſturbed the pope, and the more, becauſe the emperor did not act ſo ſtrenuouſly in *Italy* as he had promiſed. This determined him to deſire the king to be ſo good as to let him ſend a legate into *France*, to endeavour to find out methods of accommodation. The king anſwered with a great deal of civility, that the war had not at all diminiſhed the reſpect which he had for the holy ſee, and that the legate ſhould be received in *France* with all the honours due to his character.

The pope named cardinal *Verralli* for this legation, a man of parts and conſummate prudence. He found the king much better diſpoſed than he expected: Car-

A. D. 1551. dinal *de Tournon*, who, since the war, was retired from *Rome* to *Venice*, received orders from the king to go to the pope, and negotiate immediately with him.

The cardinal behaved himself in this negotiation with a great deal of art and management: Finding the pope intimidated by the advantages the *French* had in *Piedmont* and *Parmesan*, to augment his uneasiness, he made use of the news which was lately come, that the *Ottoman* fleet was ready to set sail for the coast of *Italy*; and at length the treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that there should be a cessation of arms for two years upon these conditions: That *Octavio Farneze* should keep *Parma* during that time; but that after the two years were expired, he should be at liberty to treat with the holy see in what manner he should judge proper: That the pope should restore to the two cardinals *Farnezes* the principality of *Castro*, which he had seized upon: That if the emperor would agree to this treaty, neither they nor the *French* should commit any more hostilities upon the territories of that prince on that side: And that the king would revoke the prohibition he had published of commerce between *France* and *Rome* for benefices, and other ecclesiastical affairs.

The pope was so much rejoiced at this accommodation, that before it was entirely concluded, he published it in full consistory, greatly commending the moderation, prudence, and piety of the king.

Letters of cardinal Ferrara to the king.
Letter of cardinal Tournon to the king in the collection of Mr. de Lamoignon, v. 14. & 17.
Montluc, l. 2.
Thuanus, l. 7.

This news was as pleasing to that prince, as it was otherwise to the emperor: But being pressed with some disturbances which had happened in the kingdom of *Naples*, by the ill disposition which he knew the republick of *Sienne* was in with regard to him, by the entry of the troops into *Hungary*, and yet more by the danger which threatened him on the side of *Germany*, he was willing to be comprehended in the treaty, and accepted the suspension of arms for the *Parmesan*, the principality of *Mirandole*, the *Plaisantine*, and the neighbouring countries.

This danger must be very pressing to force the emperor thus to let conditions be prescribed to him, and indeed it was so; but to give a better account of the causes of an event, in which fortune began to aban-

don

don *Charles* V. It will be neceſſary to return back, and take a view of affairs a little higher. *A. D.* 1551.

This prince, ſince his victory at *Mulberg*, where *John Frederick* elector of *Saxony* was taken priſoner, had behaved very haughtily towards the *Germans*, and by the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholick religion in ſeveral towns of *Germany*, had very much irritated the proteſtants. Notwithſtanding he ſtill kept in his intereſt *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, to whom he had transferred the electorate, and *Joachim* elector of *Brandenbourg*, though both followed the novel opinions; but he had very much offended them both by his behaviour towards *Philip* landgrave of *Heſſe*, who, upon their parole, had ſurrendered himſelf to the emperor, and had been put in priſon without any regard to them.

Maurice, the new elector of *Saxony*, was an ambitious and diſſembling man, whoſe view was to make himſelf the head of the proteſtant party. He thought he had now a favourable opportunity of attaining that end by the war which broke out between the king of *France* and the emperor, on account of the difference about the city of *Parma*.

He treated privately with ſeveral princes of *Germany*, and with the king. It was the biſhop of *Bayonne*, whoſe name was not *John du Freſne*, as he is called in the printed hiſtories, but *John de Freſſe*, as may be ſeen in the original letters of that prelate to the king: It was, I ſay, this biſhop who managed all this intrigue. *Maurice*'s treaty with *France* was concluded upon the fifth of *October*, in the year 1551; and ratified by the king at *Chambor* upon the fifth of *January* the year following. *In the collection of Mr. preſident de Lamoignon. A. D.* 1552.

The king, by this treaty, was to undertake the defence of the liberties of *Germany*, and to furniſh immediately, for the three firſt months of the war, two hundred and forty thouſand crowns, and afterwards ſixty thouſand every month. He obliged himſelf to bring an army into the *Netherlands*, to come towards the *Rhine* with another, and begin with making himſelf maſter of the four *Imperial* towns, which did not ſpeak the *German* language, namely, *Cambray*, *Toul*, *Metz*, *Verdun*, to keep them as vicar of the holy empire. The treaty was ſigned by the elector *Collection of treaties by* Leonard, t. 2.

A. D. 1552. elector of *Saxony*, the elector of *Brandenbourg*, *Frederick* count palatine, and a great many other princes of the empire.

By the same treaty *Maurice* elector of *Saxony* was declared the head of the league of the *German* princes, and general of the army which was to be formed of their troops. The elector published a manifesto, in which he laid down three motives for the war which he declared against the emperor: The first, was the security of the protestant religion; the second, the defence of the liberties of *Germany*; and the third, was the deliverance of *Philip* lantgrave of *Hesse*, his father-in-law.

When this league broke out, the emperor was at *Inspruck*, and had no army in *Germany*, the greatest part of his troops being marched towards the elector of *Saxony*. He lay under a necessity of attempting the method of negotiation, in order to amuse the elector, and to gain time. The elector did not refuse a conference, which was agreed on, and was to be held at *Lintz* some time after; but he still advanced, and came to *Donavert*, upon the *Danube*, where *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenbourg*, joined him with a new body of troops.

From thence they marched forwards, the most considerable towns submitting to these two princes, some willingly and gladly, and others for fear of having their territories plundered. Their troops increased every day; and at last the elector left his camp, and went to *Lintz*, according to the agreement with the king of the *Romans*.

In the mean while the king likewise entered upon action with a numerous army, and took care to execute the article which obliged him to seize upon *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Metz*. He entered *Lorain*, made the dutchess-mother give him her son to educate him at the court of *France*, and let her know that as she was the emperor's niece, he could not with prudence rely upon her, and obliged her to leave the administration of the dutchy of *Lorain* to count *Nicholas* of *Vaudemont*, the young duke's uncle. She was constrained to submit to force, and she retired to the *Netherlands*, which had been for a long time the usual retreat

Thuanus, l. 7.

retreat for the ſiſters, nieces, and aunts of the emperor. *A. D.* 1552.

The king left *Arthur de Coſſé*, lord of *Gonnor*, and brother to marſhal *Briſſac*, governor of *Nancy*, and continued his rout towards *Alſatia*.

The *French* army came to *Saverne* upon the third of *May*. The king's deſign was to make himſelf maſter of *Strasbourg*, and afterwards paſs the *Rhine*, and penetrate further into *Germany*; but the inhabitants of *Strasbourg* had raiſed a conſiderable number of troops, and there was no way to attack the place. On the other hand, the *Swiſs* ſent a deputation to him, deſiring him to ſpare that city and its dependances. The count palatine, the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the elector of *Treves*, and ſome other princes on this ſide the *Rhine*, applied likewiſe to him, deſiring him not to enter upon their territories. He made a merit to them of acquieſcing in their demands, and returned with his army into *Lorain*; but, in truth, beſides the difficulties which he found in ſubſiſting his troops in thoſe parts, two other reaſons determined him to this retreat towards his frontiers.

The firſt was, that *Martin Roſſem*, one of the generals of the *Imperial* army in the *Netherlands*, was committing great ravages in *Champagne*, where he had made himſelf maſter of *Stenay*: The ſecond was, that the elector of *Saxony* had ſent him the reſults of the conference at *Lintz*; by which it appeared that there was a great probability of an accommodation of the princes of *Germany* with the emperor; and that peace would be concluded at *Paſſaw*, where it had been agreed to hold new conferences upon the twenty ſixth of *May*. Sleidan, l. 24.

Theſe letters of the elector made the king believe that he was in a quite different diſpoſition from what he was in reality, and that he intended to make peace, but he was ſoon undeceived; for the elector knowing that the emperor was getting ſome troops together near *Inſpruck*, with an intention to put himſelf in a condition of making a more advantageous treaty, reſolved, with the advice of the biſhop of *Bayonne*, to prevent him, and marched in hopes even of ſeizing upon him.

He

A. D. 1552. He forced a defile, guarded by eight hundred *Imperialists*; whose flight threw terror into the camp which the emperor had formed near the town of *Reute*. The elector came thither a short time after, attack'd it, made himself master of it, and there were a thousand of the emperor's soldiers killed, or taken, or drowned in the *Lech*. From thence he went to assault the castle of *Erneberg*, a very strong place, in which there was a large garrison, and a pretty great number of troops in the neighbourhood. He carried it sword in hand, took near three thousand prisoners, lost but very few soldiers, and came in two days march to *Zirlen*, two leagues from *Inspruck*, where he hoped to surprize the emperor. But as soon as this prince knew of the taking of *Erneberg*, he left *Inspruck*, sick as he was, and did not stop till he got to *Villac* upon the *Drave* in *Carinthia*, followed by the king of the *Romans*, and all his court, in such an equipage as it may be imagined he was furnished with in so precipitate and unforeseen a flight as this. Terror spread as far as *Trent:* The prelates and divines, both *German* and *Italian*, left it; and the pope was obliged to adjourn the council.

Cardinal Ferrara's *letter to the king in the collection of Mr.* de Lamoignon, *vol.* 15.

The elector of *Saxony*, after having allowed his soldiers to plunder every thing at *Inspruck* that belonged to the emperor, the *Spaniards*, and the cardinal archbishop of *Ausbourg*, went to *Passaw* upon the day prefixed, which was the twenty sixth of *May*, and ordered his troops to observe the truce exactly; which, as had been agreed, was to begin that day, and continue the fifteen following days, that they might pursue their endeavours after peace with greater liberty.

Sleidan. l. 24. The first meeting was held upon the first day of *June*. The elector of *Saxony* laid down the motives which had obliged him to take up arms. Two days after the bishop of *Bayonne* had an audience in a second meeting, at which he extolled with a great deal of eloquence the zeal of the king his master for the liberties of *Germany*; he did not dissemble his surprize, that after having engaged the king in a war of this consequence, they should think so soon of making peace; but that as he had undertaken it only for the advantage of the princes of *Germany*, he would not oppose

pose it, if it secured their liberties, and procured the lantgrave's releasement. *A. D.* 1552.

The assembly made a very civil answer, which the bishop of *Bayonne* sent to the king. This prince wrote a letter to the diet upon this occasion, in which he pretended to shew himself more satisfied with the princes of *Germany* than he really was. It was read in an assembly, and caused the king of the *Romans* to make a vehement invective against *France*; but the elector of *Saxony* replied, and said, that was not the business they were upon; that the truce was finished, and that he desired him to declare the emperor's resolution upon the lantgrave's releasement, and upon the other points for which they were assembled.

The king of the *Romans* desired some time to give in the last answer, and with difficulty obtained, that the truce might be prolonged to the latter end of *July*; and as soon as that day was passed, hostilities were renewed, till at length, upon the last day of the month, the peace was concluded. Sleidan. l. 24.

The principal articles were, the releasement of the lantgrave of *Hesse*, and the restitution which was made him of his town of *Rhinsfeld*; and that the emperor in six months should assemble a general diet, to satisfy the princes of the empire upon their grievances; that in the mean while liberty of conscience should be allowed; and that those of the *Ausbourg* confession should sit in the *Imperial* chamber, from which they had been excluded.

Such was the treaty of *Passaw*, which the *Lutherans* have always looked upon as the solid foundation of their security, with regard to their religion, and of the impunity with which the princes and towns of *Germany*, who had embraced it, professed it, and established it in their dominions.

As soon as the peace was signed, the bishop of *Bayonne* retired, seeing very well that there was nothing more to be hoped for in favour of *France*, from the elector of *Saxony*; who having compassed the two things he aimed at, namely, the releasement of the lantgrave, and the making himself the head of the protestant party, gave himself very little trouble about the king's interest.

While

A. D. 1552. While all this passed in *Germany*, the king was returned into *France*. At the news of his approach the *Imperialists* left *Champagne*, and abandoned *Stenay* to cover *Luxembourg*.

The *French* did the same in this province that the enemy had done in *Champagne*, and ravaged all the country. *Damvilliers*, *Yvoy*, *Mont-Medi*, and several other places were taken. Marshal *de la Mark* retook likewise his town of *Bouillon*; after which the army being very much fatigued, was part of it put into quarters for refreshment, and part of it disbanded, though the season of the year was no farther advanced than the month of *July*.

In the mean time the emperor's fears being removed by the treaty of *Passaw*, he breathed nothing but revenge against *France*, though he dissembled it; and when he got some troops together, which came from all his dominions, his pretence was the assistance of *Hungary*, where *Mahomet Bacha* was actually besieging *Agria*.

He sent the elector of *Saxony* into *Hungary* with a numerous body, and spread a report, that in a short time he would follow it; but as soon as his army was got together, he marched towards the *Rhine*, not, as he gave out, to attack the king of *France*, but marquis *Albert* of *Brandenbourg*, who would not sign the treaty of *Passaw*, and had been declared an enemy to the empire. That prince ravaged the archbishopricks of *Treves* and *Mentz*; and these ravages continued till the emperor had passed the *Rhine* at *Strasbourg*.

The *Imperial* army came and encamped at *Haguenau*, and from thence to *Landau*: *Albert* of *Brandenbourg* removed in proportion as the emperor approached; and having passed the *Maeze*, he went into *Luxembourg*, and returned from thence into *Lorain*, being resolved to come to an accommodation either with the emperor or the king of *France*, according as either the one or the other would allow him the greatest advantages.

Thuan. l. 8. Belcar. l. 26. *Annals of* France, l. 6. &c. As soon as the king saw the emperor march towards the *Rhine*, he suspected that the storm would fall upon his kingdom, and that this prince would infallibly attack *Toul*, *Verdun* and *Metz*, the taking of

of which had very much displeased him. He prepared for his defence; and in the beginning of *August*, sent to that frontier, in the quality of his lieutenant-general, *Francis* duke of *Guise*, who had taken that title after the death of *Claude* his Father, and had yielded that of duke of *Aumale* to *Claude* his younger brother. The duke of *Guise* was a prince who wanted no quality of body, mind and soul, requisite for forming a hero. He had already, upon several occasions, given proofs of his courage and conduct; and together with so great Merit, he enjoyed the favour of his master to enable him to improve it. This one important occasion furnished him with an opportunity of exercising his great talents, and of rising to that height of glory and reputation in war, in which no person of his time equalled him. *A. D.* 1552.

He did not doubt but the emperor's design was upon *Metz*, and omitted nothing to put himself in a condition of making a vigorous resistance. He stored it with provision and ammunition; he made several cavaliers without, on which to place the cannon, formed his plan for the entrenchments which he would make behind the walls in the places where they should be attacked; assigned the bravest officers of the garrison their quarters, and settled an admirable method for the relief of the inhabitants and soldiers, being resolved to observe the exactest military discipline with the utmost rigour. *Relation of the siege of Metz. by Mr. de Salignac.*

This point was so much the more difficult to put in execution, as several princes of the blood, and the greatest lords of the kingdom, shut themselves up with him in the town, and among others the count of *Anguien*, *Lewis* prince of *Conde*, both the brothers of *Anthony* of *Bourbon* duke of *Vendome*, and king of *Navarre*, *Charles* of *Bourbon*, prince of *Roche Sur-yon*, *Francis* of *Lorain*, grand prior of *France*, *Rene* of *Lorain*, marquis of *Elbeuf*, both brothers to the duke of *Guise*, the duke of *Nemours*, *Horace Farneze*, duke of *Castro*, grandson of pope *Paul* III. who was soon, as I have observed already, to marry *Diana* the king's natural daughter, the count of *Martigues*, *Montmorenci* and *Damville*, the constable's sons, and a great number of other persons of quality.

It

A. D. 1552. It was with all this brave nobility that the duke of *Guise* waited for *Charles* V. One thing embaraſſed him more than all the reſt; it was the having marquis *Albert* of *Brandenbourg* in his neighbourhood, whom he very much miſtruſted, and whom at the ſame time he was forced to keep fair with in the preſent uncertainty, whether he would declare for the emperor or the king; but a ſhort time after the emperor's coming up, he declared for that prince in a manner which very much provoked the duke of *Guiſe*. For the duke of *Aumale*, his brother, who had orders to follow the marquis with a ſmall body of troops, was attacked by him, defeated, and taken, being wounded with three piſtol ſhots; after which the marquis quitting the white ſcarf, and taking the red, carried the duke of *Aumale*, as it were in triumph, to the *Imperial* camp, and there took up his quarters.

The emperor's army therefore being come up to *Metz*, and the quarters being diſtributed, the attack was made upon the *Champeneſe* port, which is not there at preſent, and where the duke of *Alva*, general of the army under the emperor, took his poſt.

As the *Imperialiſts* were a long time before the place, before the opening of their trenches, which was not done till the beginning of *November*, the duke of *Guiſe* fatigued them with a great number of ſallies, moſt of them ſucceſsful, and very well managed, which gave them to underſtand, that they would not eaſily accompliſh their enterprize. The emperor did not come to the camp till the twentieth day of the month, and was very much troubled with the gout. Upon the twenty ſixth he went into the trenches to encourage the ſoldiers, who began to be diſheartened at the bad weather, and the vigorous reſiſtance of the beſieged. They were carried on as far as the brink of the ditch, the deſcent from whence the duke of *Guiſe* intended to hinder.

Upon the twenty eighth the cannon continuing to play with very great fury, a great part of the wall, between the towers of *Vaſſieux* and *Lignieres*, fell all of a ſudden. The enemy at the ſight of this fall, ſhouted for joy; but this joy did not laſt long; for when the duſt was laid, they were ſurprized at diſcovering a large rampart beyond, very well flanked, and

and lined with arquebuſſiers; and the breach of the wall ſo ſteep that they could not mount it. From this rampart they could ſee into the trenches; and the arquebuſſiers killed ſo many men there, that the beſiegers were obliged to make a demi-baſtion to cover themſelves. *A. D.* 1552.

As the cannon made new breaches in the walls, the enemy diſcovered the like entrenchments behind, which the duke of *Guiſe*, with prodigious labour, had cauſed to be made through the whole extent of the attack. This obliged them to work under ground, to come underneath the ditch, to ſet on the miner at the wall.

The emperor, at the beginning of the ſiege of *Metz*, had ordered *Hedin* to be beſieged by another army, and had taken it. He immediately ſent the duke of *Guiſe* information of it; who, to be even with the emperor, ſent a trumpet to him, to acquaint him with the taking of *Albe*, in *Piedmont*, by marſhal *Briſſac*.

As the loſs of *Hedin* was of great importance, the duke of *Guiſe* ſent word to the king, that he would anſwer for holding out long enough to give him time to retake that place; and upon this aſſurance the king beſieged it.

In the mean while the duke found out by a *Savoyard*, who was taken in a ſalley, and an *Italian* gentleman, who ſurrendered to him, that the mines were very far advanced, and whither they were bringing them. This ſaved the place; for they countermined immediately, and the miners of the beſiegers hearing people at work near 'em, were obliged to quit their works.

It was already the end of *December*, and the country was all covered with ſnow. The bad ways made it very difficult for the convoys to come to the camp; the emperor ſaw the troops diminiſh day after day: At laſt, not being willing to loſe the reſt of his army, he reſolved, with a good deal of chagrin, to raiſe the ſiege; and, after having taken all his meaſures to make his retreat with ſafety, he decamped upon the ſecond of *January*, having ſeen the fineſt of all the armies he had ever commanded againſt *France*, deſtroyed moſtly by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon and ſickneſs.

A. D. 1552. The duke of *Guise* took great care of the ſick and wounded, great numbers of whom were found in the enemies camp. He likewiſe ſignalized his piety in another manner; for being informed, that there were heretical books in ſeveral houſes in the town, he had them all brought together, and kindled the bonfire with them, after the proceſſion which he ordered, to return God thanks for the ſucceſs of his defence.

This was the iſſue of the ſiege of *Metz*, which the courage, conduct, activity, and vigilance of the commander, the intrepidity, confidence, and obedience of thoſe who ſerved under him, the ſtratagems, and all the ſubtilties that art could invent for the defence of a town, for perplexing the enemy in their ground, for retarding their approaches, and keeping them always vigilant and uneaſy, render'd the moſt memorable ſiege that had been made during all this century.

The king received the news of the deliverance of *Metz*, and the ruin of the *Imperial* army, with a joy equal to the importance of ſuch an event. Great rejoicings were made upon it, and ſeveral medals were ſtruck, to perpetuate the memory of it.

The war was carried on in other places with no better ſucceſs to the *Imperialiſts* than before *Metz*. The count of *Roeux*, indeed, had made an incurſion into *Picardy*, but it ended in ſome ravages, and the taking of ſome little indefenſible towns, which he could not keep: But during this time the duke of *Vendome* retook *Hedin* before the end of the ſiege of *Metz*.

Annals of Belle-Foret, L. 6. Marſhal *Briſſac* took *Albe* and *Verue* in *Piedmont*. *Ferdinand de Gonſague* raiſed the ſiege of the city of *Beyne*, defended by *Montluc*; *Sienne* revolted from the *Spaniards*, and ſubmitted to the *French*: *Andrew Doria* was beaten in the *Mediterranean* by *Dragut* and *Sinan Bacha*, admirals of the *Turkiſh* fleet.

Strada de bello Belgico, L. 1. Belcar. l. 26. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable actions of the year 1552, which was the moſt unfortunate of all *Charles* V's life; and it was upon this occaſion that he ſaid, That fortune was a friend to young people; meaning, that his good ſucceſs was gone from him to the young king of *France*, who got the better of him every where.

The

The next year did not begin so fortunately in *Flanders* for the *French*. *Teroüanne* was taken by assault, and razed to the ground, by *Cæsar Pontius* of *Lalain*, general of the *Imperial* army, and Monsieur *de Montmorenci*, the constable's son, who commanded there, was made prisoner. *A. D.* 1553. *Annals of France.*

The taking of *Teroüanne* was followed by that of *Hedin*, which was likewise razed. *Horace Farneze*, who had just married *Diana* the king's natural daughter, was killed there with a cannon ball.

This was the first expedition in which *Emanuel Philbert* of *Savoy*, prince of *Piedmont*, commanded as general, and which gave a beginning to the great reputation which he afterwards gained in war. Duke *Charles*, his father, dying some time after, he took the title of duke of *Savoy*; but he was not restored to part of his dominions till the end of this reign.

The bad weather hindered the king from undertaking the siege of *Cambray*, for which he had made great preparations: But the constable defeated the duke of *Arscot*, in a battle near the river *Authies*. Six hundred of the enemy were killed upon the spot, the duke was taken prisoner, and the prince of *Epinoy* slain.

The *Imperialists* did not succeed so well in *Italy*, as in *France*. Mr. *de Termes*, who commanded the *French* troops in the country of *Sienne*, having an army of twelve thousand men, render'd all the efforts of the *Spanish* troops ineffectual, though they consisted of five and twenty thousand men. He made them raise the siege of *Montalcin*, and he remained master of the field; because cardinal *Paceco*, viceroy of *Naples*, sent for the *Spanish* army thither, to oppose the *Ottoman* fleet, which committed great ravages upon the coast of *Calabria*. Thuan. l. 9.

It was joined with the *French* fleet, commanded by the prince of *Salernum* and baron *de la Garde*. Mr. *de Termes* made use of this fleet to make a descent upon the isle of *Corsica*. He took several towns there, and had made himself in time master of it, if it had not been for the misunderstanding which arose between him and *Dragut*, admiral of the *Ottoman* fleet, to whom he would not allow the pillaging of *Sanbonifacio*, which surrendered by capitulation.

A. D. 1553. After *Dragut* was retired, *Andrew Doria* came to the assistance of the island, and retook some towns: But Mr. *de Termes* continued master of the southern part of it, and intrenched himself there during the winter.

Memoirs of Montluc, l. 3. Marshal *de Brissac* surprized *Verceil* in *Piedmont*, and pillaged it: But not having any cannon, with which to attack the castle, he retired. He took likewise some other towns, and disconcerted all the designs of *Gonsague*, who by this means lost a great deal of reputation and interest with the emperor.

Such different success made the pope hope, that the two princes would hearken to peace. To this purpose he employed *Don Corneio*, his nephew, who was in the emperor's army, and made use of the duke of *Florence* to apply to the king. The king answered, that the insignificancy of so many projects of peace as had been made, hindered him from offering any proposals, but that he would receive those which should be made to him. The emperor shewed more complaisance to the pope, and offered some proposals to the king. They were so extravagantly unreasonable, that the king received them with disdain, and did not vouchsafe to answer them: But during these transactions, news came of an accident, which produced great alterations with regard to politicks, religion, and the interests of the two princes. It was the sickness and death of *Edward* VI. king of *England*, in the sixteenth year of his age.

As soon as the king heard of *Edward*'s sickness, he sent Mr. *de Noailles* into *England*. The pretence of this embassy was, to assure the king of *England* of the king of *France*'s concern at his sickness: But the true intention was to prevent *Mary*, eldest daughter of *Henry* VIII. from ascending the throne of *England*; because it was known that the emperor had already taken measures to bring about the marriage of that princess with the prince *Don Philip* his son. The thing succeeded at first; and *Edward*, notwithstanding the late king his father's will, which settled the crown upon *Mary*, and then *Elizabeth*, his sisters, after his issue, excluded *Mary*, by the management of the principal members of his council, who did not like that princess, because she was a catholick, and were all de-

Du Chesne *hist. of England*, l. 20.

devoted to *John Dudley*, duke of *Northumberland*, who propoſed to fix the crown upon *Jane* of *Suffolk*, his ſon's wife, and the king's couſin. *A. D.* 1553.

He compaſſed his end, and ſhe was proclaimed queen of *England*; but *Mary*'s party, who were got into *Norfolk*, prevailed. The duke of *Northumberland* was betrayed by thoſe very perſons who at firſt had ſerved him the beſt. His army forſook him: *Mary* was proclaimed queen: She had the duke taken up, and cut off his head.

The firſt care of the new queen, who had always profeſſed the catholick religion, was to re-eſtabliſh it in *England*. She ſucceeded in it with much more eaſe and leſs diſturbance than could have been expected; but in the ſituation ſhe was in, ſhe wanted a ſtrong ſupport againſt the hereticks. She met with it in the offer which the emperor made her of his ſon for a ſpouſe; and after a good deal of conſideration, ſhe reſolved upon it, though ſhe foreſaw the diſcontent of moſt of the nobility, gentry, and people of *England*, who would not willingly come under a foreign maſter, and a catholick.

There were accordingly ſome riſings upon the publication of the treaty of marriage; but ſhe compaſſed her end, and *Don Philip* landed in *England* in *July*, and the nuptials were celebrated.

The king was very much chagrined at this marriage, and foreſaw the bad conſequences of it to his kingdom: But without ſeeming to be ſurprized, he made haſte to prevent the emperor in the *Netherlands*, as he had done the year before. The conſtable divided his army into ſeveral bodies; and after having given the enemy ſome jealouſies in three or four places, where ravages were committed, and where they took ſome ſmall towns, marſhal *de St. André* fell all of a ſudden upon *Mariembourg*, a very ſtrong place, newly fortified, and took it in ſix days. The king carried *Bovines* by aſſault, and afterwards *Dinant*, the caſtle of which he razed. From thence he went to *Queſnoy*, and offered battle to the duke of *Savoy*, general of the *Imperial* army, who did not think proper to accept it. Laſtly, he attacked *Renti*, which was nothing but a caſtle, but very ſtrongly ſituated in the midſt of marſhes, upon the confines of &c. A. D. 1554. Rabutin's commentaries of the war,

A. D. 1554. of *Artois*, two or three leagues on this side *Teroüanne*.

This little place covered *Artois* on that side, and on the other side very much incommoded *Boulonnois*, which borders upon it. It was, upon this account, of importance to both parties: But after all, the king's chief design in attacking it, was to bring the emperor to a battle; and he had all the reason in the world to expect it, when he saw that prince come at the head of his army to succour the place.

And, indeed, the emperor was resolved to hazard a battle rather than let it be taken. He encamped between *Marque* and *Fouquember*, behind the wood of *Renti*, which he proposed to make himself master of, in order to batter the *French* camp from thence. The duke of *Guise*, whose quarters lay on that side, guessed at the emperor's design; some of whose battalions came the next day to take possession of the wood: They fell into an ambuscade, into which the duke drew them. There were a great many of them killed, and the rest took to their heels.

As the emperor was resolved to be master of the wood at any rate, the duke of *Guise* was informed about noon, that four thousand horse, headed by the duke of *Savoy*, and as many arquebussiers, preceded by some pike-men, and commanded by *Ferdinand de Gonsague*, were advancing on the side of the wood, with four pieces of cannon; and that a body of lansquenets, under *John* count of *Nassaw*, and marshal *de Cleve*, with two thousand reisters, and a thousand light horse, with four pieces of cannon likewise before them, were marching towards the other side of the wood. The duke gave the king advice of it, and assured him, that it was impossible to avoid a battle; and that he would go directly and face the enemy, waiting for him to come and support him.

The constable immediately ranged his troops in order for their march, and the king put himself at the head of the *Swiss*, to shew them the confidence which he placed in their valour and fidelity: The duke of *Aumale* and the sieur *de Tavannes* commanded the light horse, and the troops began to spread themselves between the wood and *Renti*.

In

In the mean while the emperor charged three hundred arquebuſſiers, whom the duke of *Guiſe* had poſted in the wood. They retired fighting: Several were killed; and the reſt got to a little plain, where the duke of *Guiſe* had taken his poſt, with marſhal *de St. André*, the duke of *Nevers*, *Alphonſo* of *Eſt*, and *Gaſpard* of *Coligni*, called admiral *de Châtillon* after he had been raiſed to that dignity by the death of marſhal *d'Annebaut*. *A. D.* 1554.

The enemy, who purſued the three hundred arquebuſſiers, ſeeing what good order the duke of *Guiſe* was in, ſtopped, waiting for the arrival of the other troops, who were coming by the ſides of the wood.

The firſt that appeared were the reiſters. The duke of *Guiſe* charged them with ſome ſquadrons of light horſe, under the command of the duke of *Nemours*, *de Tavannes*, and *d'Auchi*. The reiſters ſuſtained the charge with a great deal of reſolution, and made the *French* give way. Baron *de Curton*, the ſieur *de Forges* guidon of *Tavannes*'s company of gendarms, were killed; the viſcount of *Auchi*, *Rendan*, and *Amanzay* his lieutenant, were wounded; upon which the duke of *Guiſe*, fearing the conſequences of this beginning of a rout, put himſelf at the head of ſome cavalry, with the duke of *Aumale*, his brother, and *Tavannes*, who rallied their people with all ſpeed. The duke of *Guiſe* charged again, and that with ſo much fury, that the reiſters were broke through, and thrown upon the *Imperial* lanſquenets, who followed them. He puſhed his point, and without giving the enemy time to recover themſelves, penetrated as far as the lanſquenets, who were already in diſorder, rode over them, and entirely routed that part of the *Imperial* army, while the duke of *Nevers*, on the other ſide, attacked with the ſame ſucceſs ſome *Spaniſh* horſe, ſupported by a body of arquebuſſiers.

In the mean while the infantry of the king's camp came up, and being animated by ſo happy a beginning, attacked the *Spaniſh* infantry, and after a pretty ſtrong reſiſtance broke it. At the ſame time the admiral, on foot, followed by part of the infantry, of which he was captain general, attacked that of the *Imperialiſts*, which was ſpread in the wood, and made a great ſlaughter among them. It was not doubted, but if

A. D. 1554. the constable had marched the rest of the army with as much speed as was proper upon such an occasion, all the emperor's would have been entirely defeated: But this prince, as soon as he saw things take so ill a turn, made his troops who were the least advanced, retreat in good order, and employed most of them in entrenching his camp in the night, being afraid that the *French* would come and attack him the next day.

He lost near two thousand men in this battle. The duke of *Savoy*, *Ferdinand de Gonsague*, and *Anthony de Granvelle* bishop of *Arras*, the emperor's chancellor, had like to have been taken. They quitted their horses, and got into the wood, from whence they escaped to the camp by the favour of the night, which put an end to the battle. There were not above two hundred men killed upon the side of the *French*. Seventeen ensigns, five cornets, and seven pieces of cannon which they took, were indubitable marks of their victory. The king rewarded several officers; *Tavannes*, among others, was honoured with the collar of the order, and the king put upon his neck that which he wore himself.

Memoirs of Tavannes.

Notwithstanding this victory, the king raised the siege of *Renti*, because the emperor had cut off his provision and forage; but before he decamped, he sent that prince notice of it, telling him, that he expected him at a place near *Renti*, which he appointed, supposing that he would accept of a second battle. The emperor did not think proper to do it, having what he aimed at, and therefore let the *French* army go without attacking it in its retreat. Thus ended the campaign on that side. The duke of *Savoy* advanced with a party of *Imperial* troops towards the town of *Mesnil*, and fortified it; it is called at present *New Hedin:* And the king on his side likewise fortified *St. Esprit de Rue*, between *Monstrueil* and the *Somme*, to oppose that new fortress.

Immediately after the battle of *Renti*, the king being again encamped before that place, the emperor gave him notice by a general discharge of his artillery, and the great shouts of joy which were made in his camp, of the defeat of the *French* army in *Tuscany*; and he was not long without receiving the unacceptable particulars himself.

Annals of Belle-Forest, l. 6.

Cos-

Cosmus de Medicis, great duke of *Tuscany*, who had for some time only favoured the emperor's party under-hand, had at last declared openly for him, with a design to drive the *French* out of the town of *Sienne*, and the other places which depended upon that republick. *Peter Strozzi*, a valiant and skilful officer, but seldom very successful in his enterprizes, was sent into that country to command there, in the room of Mr. *de Termes*, who still maintained himself in the towns of the isle of *Corsica*, which he had made himself master of. *A. D.* 1554.

The great duke gave the command of his troops to *John James*, marquis of *Marignan*, of the family of the *Medicis* of *Milan*, who had already gained a reputation in war. He blockaded *Sienne*: But *Strozzi* having put *Montluc* into that place, entered upon the great duke's territories, and by this means obliged the marquis of *Marignan* to raise the blockade. *Strozzi* attacked *Foyano*. The marquis came to his assistance, but he found the place surrendered. He attacked *Marciano*, being resolved to join battle with *Strozzi*, if he had pretended to succour that Place. The Town was abandoned by the garrison, who retired into the castle, and defended it.

Strozzi approached it, and the marquis of *Marignan* durst not give the assault in the presence of the *French* army. In the mean while both armies wanted water, and the taking or saving of the place depended upon the decampment of one of the two. Montluc's *Commentaries* l. 3.

Strozzi was obliged to decamp first, and contrary to the advice of *Montluc*, he made his retreat in open day, contenting himself with sending his baggage and artillery before in the night. He was followed by the marquis, who harrassed him during his march, but he could not come up with him; and he did not stop till he had passed a valley which is divided in two by hollows made with floods. As soon as he had passed it, he turned about and ranged his army in order of battle upon the brinks of those hollows.

He had two or three thousand men less than the enemy, but it was dangerous for these to attack him as he was posted. He put the lansquenets on his right, between the *French* and *Grison* infantry, six thousand

A. D. 1554. thousand *Italian* foot on his left, and upon the wings his cavalry, which was much inferior in number to that of the *Florentines* and *Imperialists*.

The marquis having likewise formed his troops, marched against the *French* army without delay. *John de Luna* and *Mark Anthony Colonna* putting themselves at the head of the cavalry, advanced with a great deal of resolution against the *French*, which in that part was under the command of the count of *Mirandole*.

Bigueti, the count's guidon, either through cowardice, or treachery, as some suspected, turned his back upon the approach of the enemy, and his example was immediately followed by all his company, who fled without drawing their swords.

Strozzi made all his efforts, in vain, to stop and rally them. He had two horses killed under him in this place, and was wounded in the body with an arquebus.

Notwithstanding his wound, he went about among his infantry, and encouraged them so well by his resolution and example, that they did not stagger, but stood firm against the enemy.

The marquis of *Marignan* seeing the good disposition of this infantry, was in no haste to attack it, but only brought up four pieces of artillery to break it. After several discharges, which made some very great breaches in the *French* battalions, who notwithstanding this fire, did not give ground, but still kept close together, he ordered the lansquenets to be attacked by the *Spanish* battallions, who were repulsed with loss: But the *Imperial* cavalry, after having pursued and dispersed all the count of *Mirandole*'s, came and took the *French* infantry in the flank; it was broken at last, after two hours resistance, and entirely routed.

Thuan. l. 10. Belle-Foret l. 6. Two or three thousand of the *French* army were killed. *Valere Bentivoglio*, who commanded the infantry, the two generals of the lansquenets and *Grisons*, monsieurs *de Clermont* and *de Montbason* were slain, and there were six hundred prisoners taken. The enemy lost likewise a great many men, and three of their general officers.

Strozzi

Strozzi not being able to hold up any longer by reason of his wound, was obliged at the end of the action, to retire to *Lucignano*, where the debris of the army got together again. The *Imperialists*, after having won the battle, went after the artillery which was gone before, and made themselves masters of it. The governor of *Marciano* being informed of the defeat of the army, surrendered the town. This piece of ill fortune happened upon the third of *August*. *A. D.* 1554.

The marquis of *Marignan* marched immediately to *Sienne*, which place would have been lost, if it had not had a governor of *Montluc*'s character, who, tho' sick of a continual fever and a dysentery, raised the courage of the inhabitants, and put them in a resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity.

Accordingly, notwithstanding the vigorous attacks of the marquis of *Marignan*, the artifices which he made use of to divide the town, the difficulty there was to keep in the *Germans*, who made a good part of the garrison, the want of provisions, *Montluc* maintained the siege between nine and ten months, obtained a most honourable capitulation for the garrison, and tolerable articles for the inhabitants, and marched out with safety, without signing the treaty, being resolved, as he said, that the name of *Montluc* should never be seen subscribed to a capitulation. Montluc's *Commentaries* l. 3.

During this siege, Mr. *de Termes*, tho' pretty vigorously attacked by the *Genoese* in the isle of *Corsica*, maintained himself there, and marshal *de Brissac* took *Yvrée*, a conquest so much the more considerable, because he could easily receive from thence the succours which came from the *Swiss*, and this place opened the country to him to make incursions into the *Milaneze*. The emperor had likewise the mortification to see a design miscarry, which he made upon *Metz*, by a correspondence which would have succeeded, if it had not been for the vigilance and presence of mind of *Francis de Sepaux*, lord of *Vieilleville*, who commanded in that place. He was rewarded with the collar of the order, and afterwards honoured with the staff of marshal of *France*. Belle-Foret l. 6. Belcarius, l. 26.

The equality of the forces, and the great expences which had drained the emperor's and the king's exchequers, were the cause that the war was carried on *A. D.* 1555.

in

A. D. 1555. in the *Netherlands* the next year with less vigour than in the preceding.

The emperor had designed to retake *Mariembourg*, but was prevented by the duke of *Nevers*, who stored the place with provisions, and made himself master of the passes. The emperor contented himself with finishing the fortifications of *New Hedin*; and as *Mariembourg* very much incommoded *Haynault*, he built two fortresses, one very near *Mariembourg*, to which he gave the name of prince *Philip* his son, calling it *Philippeville*, and the other upon a mountain which commands the *Maeze* over against *Givetz*, which he named after himself, and was afterwards called *Charlemont*.

Collection of treaties by Leonard, t. 2. During this time cardinal *Pool*, an *Englishman*, used his utmost endeavours with the emperor and the king to bring them to peace, and he prevailed to have the plenipotentiaries of the two princes to meet at *Merc*, between *Ardres*, *Calais*, and *Gravelines*: But nothing could be agreed on, the proposals on each side being always so opposite to each other.

The only considerable action that was fought this year on this side the *Alps*, happened upon the sea, over against *Dover*, between six and twenty privateers of *Dieppe*, and four and twenty *Flemish* vessels, if we may believe the annals of *Brabant*; for the *French* historians do not agree with that number, but say that the *Dieppois* had but nineteen ships, and the *Flemings* twenty two; and that the latter, tho' merchants ships, were armed like men of war, and much higher on the sides than the *French*.

Haræus, in Annal. Brabant.

Belcar. l. 7.

They cannonaded one another at first, and afterwards came to boarding, which was done with such fury, as there were not many examples of in these sort of battles. The fight lasted from nine in the morning, till three in the afternoon, when some ships being set on fire, and communicating it to several others, the two fleets were obliged to separate. Six *Flemish*, and as many *French* ships were blown up, and the two admirals were of this number. The *French* took five of the enemy's vessels, which they brought to *Dieppe*. The rest of the *Flemish* fleet all shattered to pieces, got to *Holland*, and there were a great many slain and wounded on both sides.

The

The war was carried on with more vigour in *Italy* than in the *Netherlands*. The magiſtrates and moſt of the principal citizens of *Sienne* had quitted their country, and according to the permiſſion which was allowed them by the capitulation, had retired to mount *Alcini* with what effects they could carry away. They fixed there the ſeat of their republick, formed a ſenate, ſent orders to the places which the duke of *Florence* had not yet conquered, and preſerved to themſelves at leaſt an image of their ancient liberty under the protection of the king of *France*: But the marquis of *Marignan* being maſter of the country by the defeat of *Strozzi*, ſoon took from them their principal fortreſſes, and among others *Porto Hercole*, where ſuccours uſed to land when they came to them from *France*. They expected ſome now from marſhal *de Briſſac*: But the arrival of the duke of *Alva* in *Italy*, who, with the troops which he brought with him, was at the head of an army of between five and twenty and thirty thouſand men, prevented the marſhal from ſending any detachment. *A. D.* 1555.

When the duke came, he found the affairs of the *Imperialiſts* in but an indifferent condition, through want of skill in *Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa* his predeceſſor in the command of the troops. Captain *Salvoiſon* governor of *Verue* had ſurprized the town of *Caſal*; and marſhal *de Briſſac*, who followed him cloſe, had made himſelf maſter of the citadel, after a vigorous attack for ſome days. He had likewiſe taken *Valence* upon the *Po*; and the town of *Ulpian*, which very much incommoded *Turin*, was actually beſieging by *St. Sauveur*.

The arrival of the duke of *Alva*, put an end to that enterprize. The army retired under *Caſal*, and the duke of *Alva* ſtormed the little town of *Fraſinet*.

He went from thence and beſieged *Santya* which *Francis de Bonnivet* defended with a great deal of valour, till he received the aſſiſtance of ten thouſand men, whom *Claude de Lorain* duke of *Aumale* brought from *France*, having with him the count of *Anguien*, the prince of *Condé*, and a great many lords, moſt of them voluntiers.

Theſe

A. D. 1555. These troops being joined to marshal *Brissac's*, they marched immediately, without any farther deliberation to the duke of *Alva*, who raised the siege, after having lost fifteen hundred men, and the great master of the ordnance. He retired to the bridge of *Esture*, where he entrenched by the advice of the marquis of *Marignan*, who being soon disquieted at that duke's imperious behaviour, left the army, and retired to his own estate, where he died a short time after.

After the retreat of the duke of *Alva* from before *Santya*, the *French* army besieged *Ulpian* again; and notwithstanding the ability of *Cæsar* of *Naples*, one of the stoutest soldiers of that time, they made themselves masters of it, after two assaults. The place was raz'd, because it was looked on as unserviceable, and if it was retaken, it would very much incommode *Turin*.

Afterwards they marched towards the bridge of *Esture*, as it were to attack the duke of *Alva*; but they turned short all at once upon *Monte-Calvo*, an important fortress for winter quarters, and the security of *Casal*. It surrendered by capitulation, after a siege of seven or eight days, upon the seventh of *October*. The duke of *Alva* was very much mortified at it, and vented his spleen upon the governor, whom he caused to be hanged.

That duke lost a great deal of reputation in this campaign; for when they saw him come into *Piedmont* with so flourishing an army, they thought that he would soon crush marshal *de Brissac*, who was much inferior to him in number of troops. The duke of *Savoy* was in great hopes of getting *Piedmont* again by his means; but besides the indifferent success of the *Imperial* army, two things very much disconcerted the designs of that prince, and made him perceive that his restoration to his dominions would not be so sudden as he had imagined.

The first was the exaltation of *John Peter Caraffa* to the pontifical throne, by the name of *Paul* IV. after the death of *Julius* III. and *Marcellus* II. who died twenty days after his election. The duke of *Savoy* knew that the new pope was an enemy to the house of *Austria*, and he was

was apprehenſive that he would join with *France* against the emperor. His fears were not vain; for this ſame year an alliance was concluded between the pope and the king of *France*; but it was not made publick till the year following. *A. D.* 1555.

The other thing, which gave the duke of *Savoy* a great deal of uneaſineſs, was the execution of the deſign which the emperor had formed of quitting the government of his dominions, and putting them into the hands of *Don Philip*, his ſon, and *Don Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, his brother. This event muſt neceſſarily produce a great alteration in the ſtate of *Europe*. The new king would not have ſo great a power as that of his father, the empire being ſeparated from the other dominions. *Philip* was a cloſe prince, and the duke of *Savoy* had great reaſon to doubt whether he had his intereſt as much at heart as *Charles* V. had; beſides, that the beginning of a reign is always ſubject to perplexities, which very much take up the attention of the new prince.

The emperor went to *Bruſſels*, to perform the ceremony of his abdication. He ſent for *Philip* his ſon, who, beſides the title of king of *England*, had likewiſe that of king of *Naples*, by the ceſſion that had been made to him of that realm, in his contract of marriage with queen *Mary*. Godelereus in abdic. Carol. V. Strada. de Bello Belg. l. 1.

This ceremony was performed with a great deal of ſplendor, and the emperor ſurrendered his dominions of the *Netherlands* and *Burgundy* into the hands of *Philip*. Two months after he made an entire ceſſion of his great dominions, in favour of the ſame prince; and in *September*, the next year, he ſent *William*, prince of *Orange*, to *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, his brother, with the *Imperial* ſcepter and crown, which he reſigned to him; after which he went on board his ſhips, which he had ordered to be ready in *Zealand*. He arrived at *Laredo* in *Biſcay*, and from thence went to the monaſtery of *Juſt*, upon the frontiers of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, where he lived two years after, employing himſelf in nothing but exerciſes of piety and penitence, as much as his health would give him leave, thinking of nothing but his ſalvation, and preparing to die, like a good chriſtian, after having lived the life of a very great prince, and

A. D. 1555. and having gained, by his victories, his wisdom, and all his other royal qualities, the reputation of the most accomplish'd monarch that had sat upon the *Imperial* throne since *Charlemagne*.

Philip II. king of *Spain*, who had a much better talent for the council than the field, would willingly have made peace, or a long truce with the king of *France*. Queen *Mary*, his spouse, was in the same disposition, by reason of the division of minds, and the uneasiness which appeared in her kingdom, when new seeds of war sprung up on the side of *Rome*.

I have already observed that the pope did not love the house of *Austria*. A letter from cardinal *Santafiore* to the emperor, intercepted by the pope, by which he learned that the cardinal had had orders from that prince to vote against him, very much provoked him; but after all, he was not inclined to break, at least, so soon with the house of *Austria*, if he had not been pushed on by *Charles Caraffa*, his nephew, whom he raised to be cardinal and legate of *Bolonia* as soon as he was pope.

This cardinal, who was thirty eight years of age, was a man of great spirit, parts, and merit, and more ambition. He could not hope that the age of his uncle, who was just upon his eightieth year, would let him be long in possession of the title and advantages of cardinal nephew; for which reason he resolved to procure some good establishment for himself as soon as he could. He could pretend to nothing from the house of *Austria*. The popes of the house of *Medicis* had fixed their relations in *Tuscany*, and *Paul* III. his in the dutchy of *Parma*; and there was no reason to hope that his uncle would dare to make any new divisions of the territories of the church in his favour; and this determined him to turn his views to the side of *France*.

In the present situation of affairs in *Italy*, where the king was making war with pretty good success, he did not despair of reviving in that prince's mind the inclination which his predecessors had had for the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*. If this project succeeded by his means, he promised himself great advantages in that kingdom, where his family was

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one of the first ranks, and where *it* would be the king's interest to make it very powerful. *A. D.* 1555.

While this scheme run in his head, several things happened, which irritated the pope against the emperor. The cardinal took the advantage of them, and compleated the breach between them in such a manner, as seemed to make them irreconcileable. He did not think proper, however, to open himself as yet to the king's ministers at *Rome*, but resolved to send a man he could trust into *France*, to treat with the king immediately.

This envoy was *Hannibal Ruxellaio*, a man of parts, and an enemy to the great duke, who had banished his family from *Florence*.

Being come to court, he delivered his commission, and laid before the king the danger the pope was in, through the animosity and artifices of the *Imperial* faction, which had stirr'd up against him several cardinals, and a great many lords, from whom he had received some insults; the honour which would accrue to him in declaring himself the protector of the holy see, after the example of his ancestors; the advantages which he might gain by an alliance with the pope in revenging himself of the duke of *Florence*, who had declared so openly against him; and lastly, the ease with which he might return into possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, and perhaps of the *Milaneze*, through the inclination which most of the potentates in *Italy* had to throw off the yoke of the house of *Austria*, whose severity and oppression they endured only out of despair of being supported, if they made any attempt for their deliverance.

The king being agreeably flattered with these specious projects, gave the envoy a very favourable reception; but when he proposed them in council, the constable, whom his long experience had made an enemy to these hazardous undertakings upon the *Milaneze*, and the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had seen miscarry in the preceding reigns, was against engaging in this. Thuanus, l. 11.

Besides these reasons, he represented the great age of the pope, whose death would leave the king a war upon his hands in a distant country, the burden of which would lie entirely upon himself, and the charges

A. D. 1555. of which he could not defray; that the hopes of the conquest of *Naples* would vanish, if the pope should fail; that the kingdom was exhausted by the war which had been carried on against the emperor; that advances had already been made towards a truce with *Spain*, which all *Europe* desired; and that, if they should refuse it, the *English* would infallibly declare against *France*.

Such strong reasons would most certainly have changed the king's mind, if the cardinal of *Lorain* had not back'd the proposals of *Ruxellaio* with all his might. The cardinal's eloquence, which agreed with the king's inclination, carried it against the constable's prudent advice, and it was resolved to treat with the pope. The cardinal of *Lorain* knew very well that the pope's intention was to have the duke of *Guise*, general of the army, which should come to *Rome*. It was chiefly upon this account that the expedition pleased him; for what some authors have written, that he was in hopes of making himself pope, and the duke of *Guise* king of *Naples*, does not seem to me to have any probability in it.

The cardinal of *Lorain* had orders to go to *Rome*, to treat himself about the alliance with the pope. When he came thither, he found matters in a very good disposition, by the care of cardinal *Caraffa*, and in a short time the affair was concluded. The treaty was signed by the pope, the cardinal of *Lorain*, and cardinal *de Tournon*, upon the fifteenth of *December*, and the signing was kept very secret.

To deceive the *Spanish* ministers, to whom the arrival of the two cardinals had given a great deal of umbrage, the cardinal of *Lorain* pretended to appear angry, and caused a report to be spread when he left *Rome*, that he went away dissatisfied, and tired with the pope's delays upon the affairs about which he came to treat with him.

Palavicin. L. 13. c. 16. During these transactions, a perplexing accident happened. The deputies of the king, and those of the emperor being met together, to treat upon the exchange of prisoners, those of the emperor asked the king's deputies, whether they had not power to make a treaty of truce, as had been already proposed. The king being consulted hereupon, answered, that he

he would not refuse it upon the condition that he had proposed at the last conferences of *Merc:* And these conditions were, that each should continue in possession of what he actually had, that is, that the *French* should keep what they had taken in *Tuscany*, in the isle of *Corsica*, *Mariembourg* in the *Netherlands*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Metz* in *Lorain*. The king thought he hazarded nothing by this demand, being persuaded that the emperor would never consent to it; but he was very much surprized when that prince, who judged the truce absolutely necessary for the security of the new reign of his son, accepted of this condition; But it was impossible to go back, and it was signed at the abbey of *Vaucelles*, near *Cambray*, upon the fifth of *February*. *A. D.* 1555.

A. D. 1556. *Collection of Treaties by* Leonard.

The king had acquainted the pope with the answer which he had made the emperor upon the proposal of the truce, and the pope was not very uneasy at it, being persuaded, as the king was, that the emperor would have nothing to say to the conditions prescribed; but when he knew that the emperor had accepted it, and that it was signed, he was in great consternation; for he had already for some time made his preparations for war pretty openly, and found himself exposed to the resentment of the *Spaniards*, whose power and intrigues at *Rome* he was not ignorant of. What was more perplexing to him was, that the constable, and the rest of the council, who had disapproved of the alliance, represented so strongly to the king the advantages he gained by the truce in the manner it was made, and the injury he would do his reputation if he broke it, that they confirmed him in the resolution of accepting and confirming it.

The pope, in this perplexity, bethought himself of acting a part which did not entirely agree with his true intentions. It was to send two cardinal legates, one to the emperor and the new king of *Spain* his son, and the other to the king of *France*, to congratulate them upon the truce, and exhort them to enter into a negotiation for peace. Cardinal *Robiba*, a subject of the emperor, was sent to that prince, and cardinal *Caraffa* to the court of *France*.

A. D. 1556. Besides the instructions common to the two legates upon the subject which I just mentioned, cardinal *Caraffa* had a private one; according to which, in case the emperor should refuse the pope's mediation for peace, he should spare neither promises, nor sollicitations, nor presents to the court of *France*, to make the king renounce the truce, and engage him to stand to the treaty of alliance made by the cardinal of *Lorain*.

Of these two instructions, that about peace, which was common to the two legates, was put into the pope's registers; but the private one was not registered: And this was afterwards one of the arguments made use of in the next pontificate to destroy cardinal *Caraffa*; for he was charged with a capital crime in having, contrary to the pope's orders, which appeared in the register, persuaded the king of *France* to bring war into *Italy*. So nice and tender a thing is it to manage the affairs of princes, even when they are carried on according to their own intentions.

The two legates set out; but cardinal *Robiba* had orders to go very slowly. When cardinal *Caraffa* came to the court of *France*, he found matters in a pretty good disposition; and after the affair in hand had been debated several times in council, the faction of the house of *Guise*, supported by the dutchess of *Valentinois*, and queen *Catherine de Medicis*, carried it, notwithstanding the opposition of the constable and admiral *de Coligni* his nephew. It was resolved to execute the treaty of alliance made with the pope, and to make use of what the *Spaniards* had done a little while since in *Italy*, to lay the breaking of the truce which was made at *Vaucelles* upon themselves: For during cardinal *Caraffa*'s journey to the court of *France*, the pope and the *Spaniards* quarrelled openly, and the duke of *Alva*, who was sent into the kingdom of *Naples*, had already committed some hostilities upon the territories of the church.

Thuanus, l. 12.

The pope had intercepted some letters written in cyphers, the bearer of which was a foot post from the marquis of *Saria*, the emperor's ambassador at *Rome*, by which they were acquainted that *Garcia Lasso de Vega*, the king of *Spain*'s agent, was pressing the duke of *Alva* to enter immediately into the pope's territories

in

in a warlike manner, while he had no more troops to defend him. *A. D.* 1556.

Upon this *John-Anthony de Taſſis*, the emperor's general of the poſts, was ſeized, and put in priſon; and at the time that the marquis of *Saria* was having an audience of the pope to complain of the affront done to that lord, and taking of the foot poſt upon whom the letters I mentioned were found, they ſeized upon *Garcia Laſſo* in the anti-chamber, and put him likewiſe in priſon. The ambaſſador being informed of this new inſult, as he was going from the audience, would have returned to the pope; but he was denied entrance into the cloſet. He retired very much in wrath, and proceeded ſo far as to uſe moſt terrible menaces.

The pope took likewiſe ſeveral other ſteps very diſpleaſing to the emperor and the king of *Spain*. Negotiations were entered into upon all theſe new incidents; but the pope giving no other anſwer but complaints to the inſtances which were made him to obtain ſatisfaction for all that had happened, the duke of *Alva* took the field, made himſelf maſter of *Ponté-Corvo* and *Freſinoné*, and carried off a great number of cattle from the territories of the church.

It was, therefore, upon this hoſtility that it was ſaid at the court of *France*, that the *Spaniards* had broken the truce, in which the pope was expreſly included.

Cardinal *Robiba*, who was come to *Marſeille*, had orders from cardinal *Caraffa* to proceed no further, but return to *Rome*, for fear he ſhould be ſeized at *Bruſſels*, by way of repriſal for *Garcia Laſſo* the *Spaniſh* agent, who was put in priſon at *Rome*.

Cardinal *Caraffa* left *France* at the ſame time, towards the end of *Auguſt*, and came to *Rome* in *September*.

The cardinal's arrival very much rejoiced the pope, who had great occaſion for him to give him freſh encouragements. He brought a large ſum of money which the king had given him; and the *Gaſcon* troops, who were in the iſle of *Corſica*, had orders to go immediately to *Rome*. At the ſame time Mr. *de Strozzi* came, who had been made marſhal of *France*, and after him captain *Montluc*, at the head of a party of

Montluc's commentaries, l. 4.

A. D. 1556. of *Tuscan* troops, with assurances, that he should soon be followed by an army under the command of the duke of *Guise*.

The presence of these two generals was very necessary at *Rome*, where all was in confusion; because there was no one who had either authority or skill enough to settle the quarters, and dispose of the soldiers in order: But then they were not able to keep the field against the *Spaniards*. And the duke of *Alva* made himself master of *Tivoli*, *Anaguia*, *Nettuno*, and besieged *Ostia*, which was well defended, and where he lost a great many men. It surrendered in *November*.

Notwithstanding the animosity of the two parties, there were some negotiations during the winter; and even some short truces were made from time to time. In the mean while the king of *Spain* endeavoured underhand to bring the *Farnezes* over to his side: And in order to compass it, he offered to yield them the city of *Placentia*, which had been the ground of the quarrel between them and *Charles* V. upon condition, that he should keep the citadel some time longer. They accepted the offer; and thus the pope and the king had none of the considerable princes of *Italy* on their side, but the duke of *Ferrara*; for as to the *Venetians*, whatever instances was made to them by *France* and the holy see, they would never depart from the neutrality.

What encouraged the duke of *Ferrara* to continue in union with *France*, was the arrival of the duke of *Guise* in *Italy* with a powerful army in the beginning of the year 1557. At the review which was made of it near *Rimini*, in the presence of cardinal *Caraffa*, it was found to consist of above twenty thousand men.

A. D. 1557. *Belcar.* l. 27.

The duke of *Guise* before he left *Piedmont*, took *Valence* from the *Spaniards* in three days. Afterwards he set out upon his march, and came through the *Plaisantin* and the *Parmesan* to *Rhegio*. From thence the duke of *Guise*, accompanied by cardinal *Caraffa*, continued his journey towards *Bolonia*, and arrived at *Rome* upon *Shrove-Tuesday*. He was loaded with honours, and his entry into *Rome* was a kind of triumph: But he found very few troops there, and the

pope

pope was far from having executed that article of the treaty he had made with the king, by which he was to have an army of fifteen thousand men. *A. D.* 1557.

In the mean while the pope and the king used their utmost endeavours to bring off the great duke from the *Spaniards*; and to this purpose they proposed to him the marriage of his eldest son to *Elizabeth*, the king's eldest daughter. He made as if he accepted the proposal; and this marriage was talked of at *Rome* as concluded: The king of *Spain* was very much alarm'd at it; the *Spanish* ambassador had orders to break this match at any rate whatever, and, supposing that he could succeed no other ways, the last proposal which he was to make the great duke, was to give him the city of *Sienne*, upon condition that he should do homage for it to the king of *Spain*. This was all that the great duke aimed at: He accepted the offer, and there was no more mention of the marriage. And thus *Sienne* and *Placentia*, for which the *Spaniards* had kindled war in the heart of *Italy*, were irrecoverably lost to them, out of the desire they had of revenging themselves of the pope.

The indifferent preparations the duke of *Guise* met with at *Rome*, was the reason, that he lost a whole month without doing any thing; whereas, if every thing had been ready for business when he came, he would have gone upon it with success; because marshal *de Strozzi*, with the pope's troops, and some of the *French*, had already brought affairs into a good condition: For immediately after the duke of *Alva*'s retreat into the kingdom of *Naples*, where he put his troops into quarters, he retook *Tivoli*, *Ostia*, and *Nettuno*; but since the arrival of the duke of *Guise*, the duke of *Alva* had received several considerable reinforcements, and put all the towns of the frontier in a state of defence.

This, however, did not hinder the duke of *Guise* from taking the field about the middle of *April*, and laying siege to *Civitella*, a very well fortified town upon the confines of the kingdom of *Naples*. Count *Santafiore*, and *Charles Loffredi*, defended it bravely; and at the end of three weeks, the duke of *Alva* being advanced at the head of an army of four and twenty Thuanus, l. 23.

A. D. 1557. thousand men, the duke of *Guise* was obliged to raise the siege.

Belcar. l. 27. *Relation of* Navageri. He endeavoured soon after to retrieve this disgrace, and offered battle to the duke of *Alva*'s army between *Fermo* and *Ascoli*; but the *Spanish* general, who knew that the *French* army was growing weaker every day by sickness; that the duke of *Guise*, during the siege of *Civitella*, had fallen out with the marquis *Montebello*, one of the pope's nephews, and that cardinal *Caraffa* was resolved in good earnest to come to a reconciliation with the king of *Spain*, would not run the hazard of a battle for the success of an affair which he could compass by gaining time.

The duke of *Guise* being very much chagrined, that he could undertake nothing worthy of that high reputation he had in *France*, wrote to the court for considerable reinforcements, or to be recalled. They could not grant him the first, because of the great diversion which the *Spaniards* were making upon the frontiers of the *Netherlands*; nor the second, because the king made it a point of honour not to abandon the pope. He received orders to stay in *Italy*, and to supply what was wanting by his own skill and ability.

He kept this order secret, and threatened the pope, that he would retire, if he was not better assisted than he had hitherto been. The pope was frighted at this menace; and so was the cardinal, because as yet he had concluded nothing with the duke of *Alva*. For which reason, to appease the duke, they sent him money to pay his troops; ammunition was more regularly furnished; some new levies of soldiers were made, and the duke of *Paliano*'s son was put into the hands of the duke, as he had demanded, to send him into *France* as an hostage: But during these transactions a piece of news came, which made a great alteration in affairs.

It was that of the defeat of the *French* army near *St. Quentin*; which for the great number of nobility, who were killed or taken in it, was equal to any of the most fatal battles that have been mentioned in our history.

The loss of this battle, which put the kingdom into the greatest danger, obliged the king to recal the duke of *Guise*

Guise with his army; and he had orders to excuse it to the pope, by the necessity he lay under to act in this manner. These excuses were very ill received, and the pope found himself in the greatest perplexity; but his resolution, and the moderation of *Philip* II. whose impatience to go and take possession of his dominions in *Spain*, made him desire peace, extricated him with more honour and advantage than could have been expected. *A. D.* 1557.

The pope at first rejected the very hard conditions which the duke of *Alva* would impose upon him, and said, that he would die rather than accept them. The republick of *Venice* and the great duke made themselves mediators, and the duke of *Alva* having received new orders from the king of *Spain*, treated with the pope in an amicable manner. There was nothing in the treaty but he might accept with honour. The duke of *Alva* came to *Rome* to pay his respects to the pope; and the compliments which he made him in the name of the king his master, were perfectly civil and obliging. *In the consistorial acts of the 20th of September, 1557.*

On the morning of that very day that the duke of *Alva* entered *Rome*, the duke of *Guise* left it: He put his best infantry on board the galleys at *Civita Vecchia*; he sent some companies to the duke of *Ferrara*, to oppose the duke of *Parma*, and the other partizans of the house of *Austria*; he gave the rest of the army to the duke of *Aumale*, to bring by land into *France*, and went post himself to court, which he found in the greatest consternation at the loss of the battle of *St. Quentin*.

The war was at first carried on very faintly in the *Netherlands*, because neither side was prepared: But they were very much astonished at court, when at the beginning of *June* they saw a herald at arms come to *Reims*, where the king was, to declare war against him in the name of *Mary* queen of *England*. They had flattered themselves that the *English*, who neither loved nor esteemed king *Philip*, would leave him to end his quarrels with *France* himself; the more so, because by one of the articles of the treaty of marriage with queen *Mary*, it had been stipulated, that *England* should not be obliged to be concerned in that prince's wars. Then they saw the wisdom of the constable's

A. D. 1557.

stable's advice, and discovered with how much reason he had opposed the new war of *Italy*.

At the end of *July* the *Spanish* army, under the command of *Emanuel Philbert* duke of *Savoy*, came together at *Givets*, over against *Charlemont*; and some time after it was found to consist of fifty thousand foot, and thirteen thousand horse, when between eleven and twelve thousand *English* had joined it.

The duke having passed the *Maese*, kept the king and the *French* generals some time in suspense by several marches which he took. He turned at last towards *Guise*, and no doubt was made but that he would besiege it; but having on a sudden detached all his light cavalry, he sent it to invest *St. Quentin*, and followed it immediately after himself.

Memoirs of Admiral de Coligni.

This town, which was pretty strong for that time, was but very indifferently furnished with troops; because they thought at first the enemy would enter *Champagne*, and afterwards they had provided for the defence of *Guise*, more than any thing else. Admiral *de Coligni* thought the danger was pressing enough to make him not regard himself upon such an occasion; but that, as he was governor of the province, it belonged to his honour to hazard every thing to save that place. He got together some companies of gendarmery, and light cavalry, and a few infantry, forced one of the enemy's quarters, and made his way through into the town with about a third part of the troops which he brought with him, the rest being disjoined, and obliged to retire.

The presence of the admiral put fresh courage into the inhabitants and the garrison. He made a sally to retake the fauxbourg of the island, which succeeded. He made another, which was unhappy by the loss of *Charles de Teligni*, one of the best officers in the *French* troops: But having but few infantry, and especially few arquebussiers and arquebusses, and not being able for that reason to fire very briskly, the enemy's works advanced apace.

Memoirs of Tavannes.

The constable being come as far as *la Fere* with his army, which consisting of but two and twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, which was but near half the enemy's number, was not able to offer them

them battle; and all his business was to throw troops, ammunition, and arms into the place. *A. D.* 1557.

Dandelot the admiral's brother, taking with him two thousand foot soldiers, endeavoured to force a quarter in the camp, but was repulsed with loss. At last, the constable having agreed with the admiral upon certain measures, to bring some succours over the morass upon *St. Laurence*'s day, he approached the enemy's camp with all the army.

This was contrary to the advice of marshal *de St. André*, who represented, that their retreat would be very difficult, if they approached so near the camp with all the army. His advice was very ill received by the constable, and the haughtiness with which he was treated by that lord, hindered the rest from giving their opinions freely.

The constable therefore began his march; and though he came up much later than he had promised the admiral, he surprised the quarter where the duke of *Savoy* was in person, who was obliged to escape to that of the count of *Egmont*.

During this disorder in the camp, *Dandelot* went upon the morass with a good number of infantry, exposed to the fire of the cannon of the *Spaniards*, who had made themselves masters again of the fauxbourg of the island. The thing was done with a great deal of confusion; however five hundred men got into the town with *Dandelot*, several others being killed or drowned in the morass.

As soon as *Dandelot* had passed, the constable endeavoured to make his retreat, but it was too late. The duke of *Savoy* had had time to form his cavalry, and had already ordered *Lamoral* count of *Egmont* to advance with two thousand horse, to make himself master of a defile through which he must pass, in order to come up with the *French* army. This defile was guarded only with a company of *German* cavalry, which was put into disorder upon the first onset, and the count of *Egmont* began to spread his cavalry into a larger compass. *Comment. of* Rabutin.

The duke of *Nevers* and the prince of *Condé*, at the head of the light cavalry, rejoined the constable, who began to march in good order, and not too hastily. The good disposition of his troops made the enemy

A. D. 1557.

enemy deliberate whether they ſhould attack him: But at this moment the ſoldiers boys, the ſuttlers, and other ſuch-like people, who follow armies, were frighted, and began to run croſs ſome battalions and ſquadrons, who ſtill had the baggage among them, becauſe they had not been able to go faſt enough to get before the troops, where it was to be placed during their retreat.

This diſorder determined the count of *Egmont* to charge them. He attacked one of the wings, the count of *Horne* the other, and *Peter Earneſt* count of *Manſfeld* the main body of the army, which made the rear. The duke of *Nevers* advanced with ſome ſquadrons of the left part of the main body, but they gave way at the firſt attack, and were broke.

Notwithſtanding the defeat of the rear, the conſtable continued his march in order of battle with moſt of the infantry, which was ſo well diſpoſed, that the enemy's cavalry durſt not endeavour to break them, till the duke of *Savoy* having ſent for the artillery, fired it upon them between *Eſſigny* and *Liſerole*, at a place called *Blancheface*, where the cannon tearing the infantry in pieces, it could ſtand no longer, but was entirely routed.

La Noue *in his politick and military Diſcourſes.*

In this fight, which reckoning from the firſt skirmiſhes, laſted four hours, and from the count of *Egmont*'s attack only half an hour, as is reported by a famous captain who was taken in it, two thouſand five hundred men of the *French* army, and according to others, four thouſand were killed upon the field of battle. Almoſt all the infantry that were left, were taken, with baggage, colours, and cannon. The enemy, after the count of *Egmont* had forced the defiles to attack the rear, did not loſe above fourſcore men, and among others the counts of *Pielbourg* and *Valdec*, and baron *de Brederode*.

But what was more fatal to the kingdom in this defeat, was the death or taking of a prodigious number of nobility and perſons of diſtinction. *John de Bourbon* count of *Anguien*, brother to the prince of *Condé* was killed. *Lewis de Bourbon* duke of *Montpenſier* was taken, as well as marſhal *de St. André*, with a great number of other lords, and above ſix hundred gentlemen. Laſtly, the conſtable

ble being wounded in the hip, tho' he desired death, that he might not survive his defeat, and the danger into which he had brought the kingdom, was taken prisoner. This was the highest degree of glory to the duke of *Savoy*, whose victory could not be more compleat. *A. D.* 1557.

This prince having lain upon the field of battle all night, came again with his victorious troops before *St. Quentin*, where the king of *Spain* joined him. The admiral, notwithstanding the defeat of the *French* army, refused to surrender. He held out seventeen days longer, and the town was carried by assault upon the twenty-seventh of *August*. He was taken prisoner, but *Dandelot* his brother found means to escape, and got to *Ham*. *Memoirs of Admiral de Coligni.*

The admiral holding out in *St. Quentin*, gave the generals time to rally the debris of the troops, and prevented the effect of the consternation, which spread throughout the kingdom. It may be said that this lord, who afterwards did as much mischief in *France*, when he put himself at the head of the *Hugenots*, was at this juncture the cause of its preservation, sacrificing himself with the nobility he had with him, to give the king time to recover himself.

In short, through the orders which were given upon the frontiers, through the application and diligence of the governors, through the assistance which the king met with in the purses of the *Parisians*, through the menaces of a diversion of the *Scots* upon *England*, this battle had no other consequence but the loss of *Castelet*, *Ham*, and *Noyon*, which was surprized; after which the king of *Spain*, having separated his army, returned back to *Brussels*.

But while the king's mind was wholly bent upon the defence of *Picardy*, his kingdom was threatened upon another side, where he thought there was nothing to fear.

Baron *Nicholas de Polwilliers*, a subject of the duke of *Savoy*'s, was sent by the king of *Spain* into *Bohemia*, and had raised there ten thousand men and twelve hundred horses: He gave out that he was to carry them into the *Netherlands*; but having a secret correspondence with *Lyons*, his design was upon that place, to execute which these troops were intended.

Being

A. D. 1557. Being come to *Ferette*, five leagues from *Basi*, he passed through *Franche Comté*, and entered into *Bresse* without opposition.

Gabriel de la Guiche got immediately with some soldiers and gentlemen into the town of *Bourg*, to defend it.

By a new piece of good fortune *Gaspard de Saux*, lord of *Tavannes* came up with part of the army, which was returning from *Italy*, and detached captain *d'Eschenais*, who got into *Bourg* with some companies of the legion of *Champagne*. At the same time the correspondence with *Lyons* was discovered; so that *Polvilliers* being disconcerted, was obliged to turn back, and retire into *Franche Comté*.

Memoirs of Tavannes.

The news of the defeat of *St. Quentin* obliged the king to draw out of *Piedmont* great part of the troops which he had there, under the command of marshal *de Brissac*, who was continually gaining some advantages there. The want of troops obliged him to raze some fortresses, that he might have wherewith to defend the principal places; and he maintained himself there, notwithstanding the departure of five thousand *Swiss*, four companies of gendarms, and as many light cavalry, who went into *France* under the command of Mr. *de Termes*. No troops were drawn out of *Tuscany*, because there were but very few there. The king only sent for *Montluc* from thence, who left the command of *Mont-Alcini*, and the other posts in those parts, to Mr. *de Giuri*. As *Montluc* was upon his return, he threw himself into the town of *Berselle*, and by his presence prevented the siege which the *Spaniards* were going to lay to it, and afterwards came to court.

Montluc's *Commentaries*, l. 4.

The duke of *Guise* was already come thither, and had found matters, with regard to his family, brought to a point, to which the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, if it had been compassed, could not have raised them so suddenly, as the loss of the battle of *St. Quentin* had done. The imprisonment of the constable had left the cardinal of *Lorain* in possession of all the favour and authority in the ministry; the duke saw himself called to the general command of the armies, which no one could dispute any longer with him; and lastly, the strict union between him, the

the cardinal, and the dutchess of *Valentinois*, raised the house of *Guise* to the highest degree of power, without leaving him any rivals that could stand against it. *A. D.* 1557.

The king began with declaring him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, in which he departed from the counsel which *Francis* I. his father had given him when he lay a dying, not to raise the house of *Guise* too high; but he thought the perplexity he was in should make him overlook so wise a piece of advice, being throughly resolved, after his affairs were settled again, to lessen the power of him whom he made so strong.

The duke began, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, to form a camp in the neighbourhood of *Compiegne*, where were gathered together all the *French* troops, the arrierbans, fourteen thousand *Swiss*, and the *German* forces, the levies of which had been made with a great deal of expedition. La Popelinere, l. 4. D'Avila *Hist. of the Civil Wars in* France.

The *Spaniards* took the alarm, and sent a great number of their troops to the frontiers of *Artois* and *Luxembourg*. But the design was not upon them, but upon the *English*; and the duke of *Guise*, after several marches and counter-marches, fell all at once upon *Calais*, and came within sight of the place upon the first of *January*. *A. D.* 1558.

My lord *Dumfort*, who was governor of it, had but a very small garrison in it, because the *English* had never imagined that in the condition *France* was in, they could think of such an enterprize. For this reason the fort of *Nieulay* and that of *Risban* made almost no resistance. They got possession of them, and attacked the castle of the town. The duke of *Guise* had given orders to all the privateers which were in the ports of *Xaintonge*, *Brittany*, *Normandy* and *Picardy*, to put to sea, and chase the *English* ships, and come altogether into the manche in the beginning of *January*. They were there accordingly, and hindered any ship from bringing assistance to *Calais*.

The breach was made in the castle at a part of the wall, where there was no firm ground, because the river *Ham* run into the ditch; but they found a way to drain it. The assault was given, and the castle taken. There was no method left to defend themselves

A. D. 1558. selves in the town. They were forced to capitulate; and one of the articles was, that the garrison should be transported into *England*, except the governor, who was made a prisoner of war, with fifty men of the garrison, whom the duke of *Guise* should chuse.

Thus was a town reduced in eight days, in the depth of winter, which had cost *Edward* III. king of *England* eleven months siege, after the fatal battle of *Cressi* lost by *Philip de Valois*. The *English* had maintained themselves in it for two hundred and ten years, and thought it so impregnable, that they had put this inscription upon one of the ports, *That the* French *would retake* Calais, *when lead would swim upon water like cork*. None of our kings had dared to attack it, tho' they had sometimes made preparations for that purpose; and one reflection was made upon its being taken, that the *French* had lost this town under one *Philip*, and that the *English* had let them retake it under one of their kings of the same name; to which pope *Paul* IV. when he heard this news, added, that the loss of *Calais* was the dowry of the queen of *England*; and indeed this was all that she got by her marriage with *Philip* II. It is impossible to express the joy which this glorious conquest caused throughout the kingdom, and the surprize in which it put all the courts in *Europe*, who were prepossessed with a notion, that *France* could not recover the defeat of *St. Quentin*, when they saw it, notwithstanding, by this blow, raised to so high a degree of superiority over its enemies.

The duke of *Guise* did not stop here. He invested *Guines* in the middle of *January*, and carried it by assault; my lord *Gray*, who retired into the old castle, was obliged to capitulate the next day, which was the twenty-second of *January*, and remain a prisoner of war with the lord of *Mondragon* and the principal officers.

Comment. de Rabutin. The *English* had nothing left but the fortress of *Hames* in the midst of the morasses, and very difficult of access: But the garrison being frighted, made their escapes, and left it to the *French*. So that in less than a month the *English* were entirely driven out of *France*.

During

During these conquests the king held at *Paris* an assembly of the states of the kingdom, who willingly consented to furnish him with money, which he stood in need of; after which he went into *Picardy*, and made his entry into *Calais*, the government of which he put into the hands of Mr. *de Termes*. The army was sent into quarters for refreshment, except a body commanded by the duke of *Nevers*, with which he besieged *Charlemont*, which he took in the beginning of *February*. This fortress was of importance, as well upon the account of its strength, as because that from thence the enemy made excursions, and run over all *Champagne*. *A. D.* 1558.

The *Scots*, a short time after, animated by *Louisa* of *Lorain*, queen-regent of *Scotland*, made a diversion in *England*. There were several little fights during the winter, but at last the two armies joined battle at the foot of mount *Teviot*, or *Zeviot*, and the *Scots* were beaten by the duke of *Norfolk*: But his victory cost him no less blood than it did the vanquished, and he got no other glory by it, but the having remained master of the field of battle. Buchanan. *Hist. R. Scot.* l. 16.

At that time the marriage of *Mary Stuart*, the young queen of *Scotland*, to *Francis* the dauphin was entirely concluded; and the ceremony was performed with a great deal of solemnity upon the twenty-fourth of *April*.

This marriage was a new support to the princes of the house of *Guise*, to whom the queen dauphiness was niece, and the queen-regent of *Scotland* sister. And now they laboured more than ever to ruin the constable's party, the only one that could enter into any competition with theirs: And at this time they met with a favourable opportunity, which they took care to make use of.

The constable and admiral *de Coligni* being prisoners, there was no one left at court but Mr. *Dandelot*, the constable's nephew, and the admiral's brother, who could keep up the king's good will and affection for their houses. He was very agreeable to this prince, because he had very much contributed by his courage and conduct to the taking of *Calais*, and other conquests: But being infatuated at that time

A. D. 1558. with the errors of *Calvin*, he took a ſtep which deſtroyed him.

Belcarius, l. 23. Thuan. l. 14.

There was at that time a conference held at *Peronne*, between the cardinal of *Lorain* and *Anthony de Granvelle* biſhop of *Arras*, in which theſe two miniſters reciprocally declared the inclination they had to make peace between the two crowns. The biſhop inſiſted particularly upon the danger in which religion was in *France*, upon the affection which the two *Coligni's* had for the new ſect, and upon the conſtable's blind love towards thoſe two lords his nephews; and communicated to him what was contained in ſome intercepted letters, in which *Dandelot* ſpoke of the maſs in a manner altogether ſcandalous.

When the cardinal was returned to court, he gave an account to the king of his converſation with the biſhop of *Arras*, and did not forget this article. His majeſty was very angry at it; and as they had already made him ſuſpect *Dandelot* upon this head, he was reſolved to enquire into it himſelf.

Dandelot being preſent when he was dining, the king careſſed him very much, and told him; in a ſerious tone, that he had heard ſome reports which troubled him; that his thoughts and intentions towards him were ſuch as his ſervices deſerved; but that he had received an indifferent account of him as to the buſineſs of religion; that he deſired to be undeceived upon that head by himſelf; and that he would have him declare upon the ſpot, what he thought of the maſs.

Belcar. l. 28. Thuan. l. 14.

Dandelot, without being ſurprized or confounded, after having told the king that he had a very grateful ſenſe of his kindneſs, and aſſured him of his zeal for his ſervice, added, that the reſpect which he owed to him, obliged him to ſpeak freely to him, and that ſince he deſired to know in particular what he thought of the maſs, he would confeſs to him, that he was perſuaded the maſs was a piece of impiety.

Montluc's *Comment.* l. 4.

The king being equally ſurprized and exaſperated at this blaſphemy, had him ſeized immediately, and ſent him priſoner to the caſtle of *Melun*. His office of captain-general of the infantry was given to *Montluc* to ſerve in that capacity at the ſiege of *Thionville*, which

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the duke of *Guise* was going upon, and which was no ordinary undertaking. *A. D.* 1558.

It was invested at the end of *May*; and notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, it capitulated upon the twenty second of *June*. Marshal *de Strozzi* was killed at it with a musket-ball in the trench, as he was talking with the duke of *Guise*, who was leaning upon his shoulder. He was a loss to the kingdom, which he had always served with a great deal of zeal and valour.

The king of *Spain*'s affairs went no better by sea, where Mr. *de Termes*, governor of *Calais*, who had just received the staff of marshal of *France*, by the death of *Strozzi*, took *Dunkirk* in four days. He abandoned it to plunder, as well as *Bergues St. Vuinok*, and made some excursions as far as *Newport*; but the sequel of this expedition was not so fortunate as the beginning.

The count of *Egmont*, governor of the county of *Flanders*, was advanced on that side with great part of the *Spanish* army. The marshal, whose army consisted of but twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, and was much inferior to that of the count of *Egmont*, intended to return back to *Calais*, and avoid battle; but finding himself pressed, he resolved to accept it.

He formed his troops with a great deal of skill; he placed his right upon the bank of the river *Aa*, covered his left with his chariots, and put his artillery in the main body of the army.

They fought on both sides with a great deal of valour and obstinacy; and the victory hung in suspence: When one of those accidents, which are beyond the reach of human prudence, turned it all at once to the side of the *Spaniards*.

Ten or twelve *English* ships happened by chance to be upon that coast, and the noise of the cannon informed them of the battle. They entered the river by the help of the tide, which was then coming in; and having ranged themselves in order in the middle, they began to batter the right wing of the *French* army with their cannon. It was impossible for it to stand so terrible a fire. It gave way; terror run thro' all the army, and the rout was compleat. There

A. D. 1558. were two thousand *French* killed upon the field of battle, and a great many were knocked on the head by the peasants in their flight. The *Spaniards* lost but four or five hundred men. The marshal *de Termes*, who had actually the gout upon him, and was dangerously wounded in the head, was taken prisoner. The count of *Egmont* made a present of two hundred soldiers, who were taken, to the *English*, who had done him so much service; and they were carried, as it were, in triumph, to the queen of *England*.

Commentaries of Rabutin.

This defeat happened upon the third of *July*, and very much abated the joy which the conquests of this campaign had occasioned in the kingdom. It obliged the duke of *Guise* to quit *Luxembourg*, where he had again taken some towns, and come and encamp upon the frontiers of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, to cover those two provinces from the *Spanish* army, which was encreasing every day towards *Maubeuge*.

There was another alarm at court upon the news of a descent made by the *English* upon the extremity of the lower *Brittany*: But the militia of that province being got together, under the command of a gentleman, whose name was *Kersimon*, attacked the *English*, who were busied about the pillage of a town, defeated them, killed six hundred of them, took an hundred prisoners, and obliged the rest to return to their ships.

The war was carried on but faintly in *Tuscany* and *Piedmont*, for want of troops on both sides. Almost all the forces were in the *Netherlands* and *Picardy*. The *Spaniards* advanced as far as *Dourlens*, and the duke of *Guise* came towards *Amiens*. It was not doubted but a bloody battle would have ensued, when, contrary to all expectation, they began to talk of peace in good earnest, and the two armies, without making any motion forward, entrenched themselves, the *Spaniards* upon the river *Authie*, and the *French* upon the *Somme* below *Amiens*.

The constable's party, which seemed to be entirely destroyed at court, rose again through the cardinal of *Lorain*'s fault: He thought his interest was so well established, that he should not for the future want the assistance of the dutchess of *Valentinois*. There even

Thuanus, l. 14. Belcar. l. 28.

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fell ſome words from him which nettled her prodigiouſly, and which ſhe thought ſhe could not better revenge than by joining with the conſtable againſt the houſe of *Guiſe*. *A. D.* 1558.

This lady, though ſeventy years of age, had loſt no part of the aſcendant which ſhe had over the king's mind. She was at no difficulty in bringing him to a reſolution of making peace, to which he was already inclin'd; and ſhe gave him to underſtand, that no one was more capable of treating about it than the conſtable, who being a priſoner in *Flanders*, might, as from himſelf, make ſome advances to the king of *Spain*.

The king having approved of this deſign, ſhe informed the conſtable of it, and aſſured him at the ſame time of her good intentions towards him, and that ſhe deſigned to reſtore him to his former favour.

She could not ſend him more acceptable news; and he began with gaining the duke of *Savoy*, by ſhewing him that peace was the only way for him to be reſtor'd to his dominions; and that, provided he would but ſecond him, he ſhould ſoon be in a condition to do him that great piece of ſervice.

This was attacking the duke in the moſt ſenſible part. He ſtayed with the *Spaniards* only becauſe he could not hope for any thing from *France* equal to what he found among them under his misfortunes, the command of armies being the handſomeſt remedy that a prince deprived of his dominions can have.

He engaged, therefore, very willingly with the conſtable, and acted ſo powerfully with the king of *Spain*, that he conſented the conſtable ſhould propoſe a conference for peace to the king. He had leave to go and wait upon the king, by whom he was received in ſuch a manner as could not be pleaſing to the duke of *Guiſe*. He obtained what he deſired. It was agreed that a congreſs ſhould be held in the middle of *October*, in the abbey of *Cercamp*, where a ceſſation of arms was immediately concluded. Popelinière, l. 5. Belcar. l. 26.

The firſt propoſals which were made on both ſides, were rejected by each party; but the ceſſation of arms was prolonged. The conſtable was ſometimes at court, and ſometimes in *Flanders*, without being able

A. D. 1558. to bring any thing forward. At last, one day, he told the king of *Spain*, that he was tired with so many goings backwards and forwards to no purpose, and therefore was come to confine himself in prison for the remainder of his days; but to be sure he did not expect to be taken at his word: For indeed he knew that this prince, since the death of *Charles* V. his father, which happened upon the twenty first of *September*, was very desirous of returning into *Spain*, and of leaving the *Netherlands*, and his dominions in *Italy*, quiet and settled before he went. Immediately, upon this, the death of *Mary*, queen of *England*, his spouse, happened, which made the concerns of that kingdom more indifferent to him, as he had no children by her; and being obliged to renounce that crown, he assured the constable he was sincerely desirous of peace, and consented to give him his liberty, that he might use his endeavours towards it. His ransom was fixed at two hundred thousand crowns, and the plenipotentiaries had orders on both sides to meet at *Cateau-Cambresis* in the beginning of the following year.

History of la Popeliniere, l. 5.

The constable returned to court, which was then at *St. Germain*, obtained the king's pardon for his nephew *Dandelot*, and what chagrin'd the princes of the house of *Guise* most, Mr. *de Damville*, the constable's son, married *Henrietta de la Mark*, granddaughter of the dutchess of *Valentinois*, and the king ordered the nuptials to be celebrated with all possible magnificence.

In the mean time the death of the queen of *England* put the two kings to a nonplus. The *English*, without much deliberation, had raised *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Henry* VIII. and *Ann Bullen*, to the throne. The king of *Spain* offered to marry her, which she refused; as she did the proposal which was made her of marrying one of the sons of the emperor *Ferdinand*.

France behaved in a quite different manner. It was resolved there, that *Mary Stuart*, queen of *Scotland*, and wife to the dauphin, should take the title and arms of queen of *England*, as being only daughter and heiress of *James* V. king of *Scotland*, grandson of *Henry* VII. king of *England*; and pretending

that

that *Elizabeth* was incapable of the crown, as being illegitimate, the more ſo, as the parliament of *England*, in *Mary*'s reign, had declared the divorce of *Henry* VIII. from *Catherine* of *Arragon* unlawful, and that by that act *Elizabeth* was baſtardiz'd. *A. D.* 1558.

But *Elizabeth* being ſecure of the proteſtant party, which was much ſtronger in *England* than the catholick, laughed at all this, and ſoon pulled off the maſk, and declared herſelf againſt the catholick religion. It is probable enough, that from that time ſhe took the reſolution of not marrying, that ſhe might reign with the greater independance: But as ſhe found the kingdom of *England* was drained of men and money, ſhe reſolved at the ſame time to make peace with *France*, and enter into a ſtrict alliance with the proteſtant princes in *Germany*, and the lords of *Scotland* and *France* of the ſame religion, with a deſign to embroil thoſe two kingdoms, in caſe the queen of *Scotland* ſhould make uſe of their forces to diſpute the crown of *England* with her.

The ſtep which had been taken in *France*, of acknowledging the queen of *Scotland* for queen of *England*, was no hindrance to the admiſſion of *Elizabeth*'s miniſters to the conferences at *Cateau-Cambreſis*, the chief of whom was *William Howard*, her lord chamberlain. *Collection of treaties by* Leonard, *t.* 2.

There was no mention made in theſe conferences of the reſtitution of the kingdom of *Navarre*: The manner in which the *Spaniards* had explained themſelves at thoſe of *Cercamp*, having ſhewed the conſtable that the court of *Spain* was reſolved to hear nothing upon this article, though *Charles* V. in his will, had ordered his ſon to have it examin'd according to the rules of conſcience. The two great difficulties which remained to ſettle, were the reſtitution of *Calais* to the *Engliſh*, and that of *Piedmont* to the duke of *Savoy*.

The king of *Spain* did not trouble himſelf much about *Calais* with regard to the intereſt of the *Engliſh*, but only becauſe, if the *French* kept that place, the frontier of *France* would for the future be out of danger of being attacked by *England*. He propoſed that *Calais* ſhould be ſequeſtered into his hands; but

A. D. 1558. the king and the queen of *England* rejected this proposal.

As that princess desired peace, though she pretended the contrary; and as, on the other hand, she could not without disgusting the *English* make an absolute cession of *Calais* to *France*, a middle way was taken to palliate or cover this cession. It was to leave the king of *France* in possession of *Calais* for eight years; at the end of which he obliged himself to restore it, under pain of paying five hundred thousand crowns to *England*; and that, notwithstanding this payment, which should be made either for the refusal or delay of the restitution, the *English* might make use of arms to retake that place after this term.

A. D. 1559. Belcar. l. 8. The *Spaniards* did not oppose this treaty, which was signed at *Cateau-Cambresis* upon the second of *April*. There is a good deal of probability, that before this was signed, the king of *France* had concluded with the king of *Spain*, and that the difficulties which gave ground to the conferences between the *Spaniards* and the *French*, while the latter were treating with *England*, were only to gain time, and make *England* and *France* sign first; for the next day the *French* and *Spaniards* signed their treaty likewise.

This treaty occasioned great murmurings against the constable, for the losses it was said he had brought upon *France*, and which were attributed to his impatience of seeing himself at court again, able to support his house against that of *Guise*, which had endeavoured to ruin it.

By this treaty the towns taken on both sides since the war, were reciprocally restored. *France* returned the duke of *Savoy* his dominions, except *Turin*, *Pignerol*, *Quiers*, *Chivas*, and *Villeneuve d'Ast*, which the king kept till the pretensions he had to the dominions of *Savoy*, by vertue of the right of *Louisa* of *Savoy*, mother of *Francis* I. had been examined; besides which, till the king of *France* had evacuated those five places, the king of *Spain* was to keep garrisons in *Verceil* and *Ast*; so that the duke of *Savoy* was far from being entirely master of all his dominions.

As the king had taken many more towns in the *Netherlands*, *Tuscany*, the isle of *Corsica*, *Piedmont*, and

and *Savoy*, than the king of *Spain* had taken from *France*, it was this which raiſed ſuch murmurings againſt the conſtable. They reckoned up two hundred towns and fortreſſes which the king had ſurrendered; and there were ſome who ſaid, upon this occaſion, that *Henry* II. had bought the liberty of the conſtable his favourite at a dearer price than had been paid for that of *Francis* I. when he left his priſon at *Madrid*. A. D. 1559.

But after all, except the dominions of *Savoy*, which the king could not help reſtoring ſooner or later, and the capital of which he reſerved to himſelf, and four other conſiderable towns, *Calais*, which remained to him with all its dependances, and the towns of *Picardy* which were reſtored to him, were not worth leſs than theſe, which he ſurrendered himſelf. The places which he had taken in the iſle of *Corſica* and *Tuſcany* were a ſmall matter, and would have been a vaſt expence to him to have kept them, if the war had continued. Thoſe hundreds of fortreſſes they ſpake of, were, for the moſt part, nothing but little caſtles belonging to lords of boroughs and villages, which they ſeized, in order to ſcour the enemy's country, in which they put a company of ſoldiers for a garriſon, which they beſieged with four or five hundred men, which they took and abandoned according as they were, or were not, maſters of the country; and ſuch as thoſe in which we ſaw the *Germans* in the laſt wars of *Italy* intrench themſelves to ſpoil the ground, and which were never taken notice of in treaties.

The ſingle advantage of having ſent the *Engliſh* over ſea, was worth more than all this; but I know not why it is reckoned for nothing, that by this treaty the king was not obliged to return *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, with all their dependances, which were a conſiderable augmentation of the kingdom, and covered it on the ſide of *Champagne*, which was at that time the weak part of the realm, and that he was left at liberty to maintain himſelf in them, as he did when he treated, and concluded peace with the emperor *Ferdinand*, and the princes of the empire. There was afterwards at the treaty of *Munſter*, an irrevocable ceſſion made of thoſe three cities

A. D. 1559. cities to the crown of *France*, *with the consent, advice, and will of the electors, princes, and states of the empire.*

The general peace being thus concluded, nothing was thought of but celebrating the marriages which were to cement it. They were, that of the king of *Spain* to *Elizabeth* the king's daughter, and that of *Margaret* the king's sister, to the duke of *Savoy*. The duke of *Alva*, accompanied with *William* prince of *Orange*, *Lamoral* count of *Egmont*, and several other lords, came to *Paris* in *June*, to marry the princess in the name of the king of *Spain*. The ceremony was performed with a great deal of magnificence, but ended in a very mournful manner.

Among the diversions which usually attend these sorts of rejoicings, they did not fail, especially in *France*, to give that of tournaments. The king very much loved that military exercise, as dangerous as it was, because he was very dexterous at it. He gave publick notice of one of that kind, which was called, *Pas d' Armes*. It was to last three days, and the king was to be the first challenger, with the duke of *Guise*, the duke of *Nemours*, and the prince of *Ferrara*, in the lists in the *rue St. Antoine*.

He sustained several assaults the first day with a great deal of applause. He did the same the second day, which was the thirtieth of *June*. Towards the evening, when they were going to give over, he had a mind to break another lance with the count of *Montgomeri*, captain of the *Scots* guard, son of Mr. *de Lorges*. The queen, as if she had some foresight of the misfortune which was to happen, begged of him twice not to tilt any more, and got the duke of *Savoy* to desire the same; but he was obstinate, and sent a lance to the count.

They both entered the lists, ran against each other, and broke their lances, and a splinter of one of them striking upon the viser of the king's head piece, went very deep into his right eye. The blood which came gushing out of the wound, shewed the danger of it.

After the first dressing was taken off, the wound appeared to be in a very bad condition; and in a few days the life of his majesty was despaired of. One of those

those whom this unlucky accident disturbed the most, was the duke of *Savoy*, because the ceremony of his marriage with the king's sister was deferred till that between *Elizabeth* of *France* and the king of *Spain* was over: And he was apprehensive, that if the king should die, the court would change the resolution about his marriage, and the restitution of his dominions, which several of the council, and especially the marshal *de Brissac*, had very much opposed. He came in great uneasiness to wait upon the king, and represented to him of what consequence it was to him, that the thing should be concluded immediately. His majesty, considering the justice of his demand, ordered that they should be married in his chamber, which was performed upon the ninth of *July*. He died the next day, which was the eleventh after his wound, in the forty first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. *A. D.* 1559.

Never was the death of a king of *France* more fatal to that kingdom, by reason of the misfortunes which followed it. The presages of them were foreseen in the powerful and incensed parties which divided the court; in the youth of *Francis* the dauphin, who ascended the throne without experience, and in a very indifferent state of health; in the party of the hereticks, which grew stronger every day among the people and nobility; and in the disposition of the neighbouring princes, who were too much inclined to take the advantage of such a misfortune, the peace not being as yet sufficiently settled.

But independently of all these perplexing circumstances, the death of the king would have deserved the lamentation of his people. *France* under his reign was become more powerful and formidable than it had been for a long time before. *Charles* V. lost at first that superiority which he had gained in the preceding reign, and could not recover it any more than *Philip* II. even after the battle of *St. Quentin*, the loss of which was soon repaired, to the great astonishment of all *Europe*, which saw *France* victorious and conquering almost at the same time that it was threatened with destruction and utter ruin.

Henry was the delight of his people, and especially of his court, which was very polite, but at the same

A. D. 1559.

same time almost as corrupt as that of his predecessor. His handsome mein, his sweet and affable behaviour drew him respect, and gained him the hearts of those who came near him. He was very well made, nimble, dexterous in all the exercises of arms, hunting, tennis, the mall, riding, full of politeness, and very agreeable, though his complexion was a little brown. No jesting word ever came from him that was displeasing to his courtiers; and when he had heard of an handsome action done by any of his officers, he took care upon all occasions to commend it, to express his satisfaction at it, and did not let it go unrewarded: But then some certain faults once committed never went out of his memory; and whatever good looks he might bestow upon those who committed them, it was very difficult to make him forget them.

Montluc's *Comment.* l. 3.

Several letters of Odet de Selve, *the* French *ambassador at* Venice, *in the collection of Mr.* Lamoignon.

He was a warriour, and generally commanded his armies in person; and the experience which he had acquired in the business of war, while he was dauphin, and after he was king, had made him an able and skilful general. Being assisted with the constable's advice, he usually took very good measures in his military enterprizes, and gained the reputation of a great politician, at least, in the opinion of the senate at *Venice*, who were good judges.

Brantome, *in the character of* Henry II.

He is accused of letting his ministers have too much authority; but it is said, that he was resolved to have humbled the princes of the house of *Guise*, the heads of which made too great an advantage of the power he gave them. The thing would probably have depended upon the dutchess of *Valentinois*, who always knew how to gain and continue mistress of his heart. The policy which this lady made use of in her greatest old age was to put on a mighty shew of moderation, to be obliging as far as her interest would give her leave, to express great zeal against the hereticks, and great regard for religion, which this prince loved sincerely, to make him enter artfully into her designs, without his perceiving that she intended to govern him. By these means she became the sovereign disposer of the fortune of the great ones at court, and raised and brought down, when she pleased, the house of *Guise*, and that of the constable.

Henry

Henry applied himſelf very diligently to buſineſs. *A. D.* He made ſome very good ordinances, and ſeveral for 1559. the ſecurity of religion againſt the new errors, the followers of which he proſecuted with vigour. He would have done it with yet more ſeverity, if Thuan. l. 10. the parliament of *Paris*, ſome members of which were already very much infected, and ſome others, through an unſeaſonable piece of compaſſion, as was ſeen afterwards, had not oppoſed the rigour of his edicts.

This prince, who was very religious in other reſpects, was not exempt from an infirmity too common with princes. His amours, in which he was generally very fickle, were conſtant to none but the dutcheſs of *Valentinois*; and this with the greater ſcandal, becauſe it was ſaid, that his predeceſſor had had more than friendſhip for her.

Beſides ſome natural children, he had a pretty great number of legitimate ones. One of his ſons and two of his daughters died when young, and he left four ſons and three daughters behind him, namely, *Francis* II. who was his immediate ſucceſſor, *Charles*, *Henry*, and *Francis*, *Elizabeth* queen of *Spain*, *Claude* dutcheſs of *Lorain*, and *Margaret*, who ſeveral years after married *Henry* the great; but whoſe marriage was declared null.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Francis II.

A. D. 1559. THE reign of *Francis* II. may be looked upon as the moſt unfortunate that *France* had yet ſeen, upon the account of the breaking out of the moſt bloody and moſt obſtinate civil wars, which waſted it for near ſeventy years almoſt without interruption, which eſtabliſhed hereſy in it upon the ruins of the true religion, and forced our kings to grant churches, liberties, and privileges, to the moſt declared enemies of the church, in a kingdom where, ſince the converſion of the *French* nation to chriſtianity, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve centuries, no errors had ever been tolerated. The end of theſe misfortunes was not ſeen till the reign of *Lewis le grand*, who, notwithſtanding the efforts of the moſt powerful princes in alliance againſt him, gave hereſy the laſt mortal blow, and had the glory of uniting all his ſubjects in the boſom of the true church.

The ambition and jealouſy of the great people produced all theſe diſorders. They palliated them, authorized them, and conſecrated them, as I may ſay, by

by the ſpecious pretences of religion; and never was there a plainer proof of what importance it is to ſovereigns not to let novelties in that particular take footing in their kingdoms, which, as is confirmed by the experience of many ages, after having been looked upon at firſt as nothing but a ſubject of diſpute among divines, become inſenſibly motives or a pretence for wars, and the occaſion of the rebellion of the people againſt their lawful ſovereigns, and of the entire ſubverſion of a kingdom. *A. D.* 1559.

In the preceding reign two factions divided the court, that of the houſe of *Guiſe*, and that of the conſtable *Montmorency*. A third aroſe in the beginning of this, which was that of the princes of the blood, who ſince the reign of *Francis* I. had had but little intereſt and power. The queen-mother, *Catherine de Medicis*, however ambitious ſhe might be, and whatever inclination ſhe might have for governing, was not in a condition of forming a fourth; but ſhe reſolved to ſtrike in with one of the three, in hopes of ſeeing herſelf one day at the head of that which ſhe ſhould join; and after a great deal of conſideration, ſhe united with the princes of the houſe of *Guiſe*. Her junction under the authority of the king, who being in the ſeventeenth year was a major, rendered this faction the reigning one, and the conſtable was obliged to retire to *Chantilli*.

Anthony of *Bourbon*, king of *Navarre*, firſt prince of the blood, and the prince of *Condé* his brother, were in like manner removed from court. It is true, they were honourably employed; the firſt was to carry as far as the *Pyrenees*, *Elizabeth* of *France*, the king's daughter, who was married to the king of *Spain*; and the ſecond was ſent into the *Netherlands*, to ratify the treaty of peace of *Cateau-Cambreſis*, and the treaty of alliance which had ſince been made between the two crowns, and to preſent in the king's name the collar of the order of *St. Michael* to the king of *Spain*.

Theſe two princes, though very well perſuaded of the motives for which they were put upon thoſe two employs, accepted them, not having any apparent reaſon for refuſing them, and being apprehenſive of making themſelves ſuſpected if they ſhould; but during the

A. D. 1559. the absence of the prince of *Condé*, he received a blow which was very sensible to him.

The late king, before he died, had designed the government of *Picardy* for this prince; and he hoped, that the king would follow the intentions of his predecessor the more, because he had a very small estate, and had no office to support his rank of prince of the blood with any dignity; but at the time he was in the *Netherlands*, this government was given to marshal *de Brissac*. This news put him into a fury; and as soon as he was returned, he resolved to be revenged. But in a conference which he had at *Vendôme* with the king of *Navarre*, with admiral *de Coligni*, *Dandelot*, the cardinal of *Chatillon* the constable's nephews, with *d' Ardres*, who came thither likewise from that lord, with *Charles* count of *Rochefoucaud*, *Francis* of *Vendôme*, *Vidame* of *Chartres*, *Anthony de Croy*, count of *Porcien*, the opinion was not to precipitate matters. It was the king of *Navarre* and the admiral who gained this determination, having both of them much more patience and moderation than the prince of *Condé*, whose impetuous temper was always far from keeping within bounds; but sometime after the departure of the king of *Navarre*, he made a new attempt to animate the people of his party.

D'Avila, l. i.

He called them together in his castle of *La Ferté*, upon the confines of *Champagne*, where he repeated to them what he had said at the conferences of *Vendôme*, about the designs of the court to keep them all in slavery and oppression, and represented to them several steps that had been taken with the king and queen, the insignificancy of which ought to convince them at the same time of the desire they had to destroy them, and that this was not a season for moderation. He spoke so strongly, and staggered them so much by the reasons he brought, and by a certain princely and soldierly eloquence, which was natural to him, and which in speaking prodigiously improved his countenance and looks, which were low and mean, that they all concluded to take up arms.

Brantome, *in the character of the prince of Condé.*

The admiral himself applauded this resolution; but he added, that it ought to be managed with prudence; that after having considered of it, he thought they

they could not ſucceed in their enterprizes but by one way; and he laid before them the general plan which he had formed thereupon. *A. D.* 1559.

France, ſaid he to them, is full of people who have embraced the new ſects; there are amongſt them perſons of all ranks and conditions. Notwithſtanding the ſtrict ſearches which have been made, and the terrible puniſhments which have been inflicted upon them to exterminate them, they multiply every day, both in the provinces, and even in the capital of the kingdom. The rigour with which they treat them when they ſurprize them, has put them into rage and deſpair. It is a long time ſince they would have made ſome efforts to have delivered themſelves from this oppreſſion, if they had had heads capable of governing them, and ſuggeſting means to them for obtaining liberty of conſcience. If we know how to make our advantage of their diſpoſition, they will find in us the ſupport which they want, and we ſhall have in them wherewith to form a formidable party. Their adverſaries are ours, and they are perſuaded of it. They aſcribe the new edicts which have been publiſhed againſt them, and the laſt puniſhments which have been inflicted upon ſome of their ſect, to the cardinal of *Lorain* and the duke of *Guiſe*; and they will be rejoiced to ſerve under us againſt our common enemies. The apprehenſion they are in of ſeeing the perſecution encreaſe, eſpecially, ſince the peace made with *Spain*, will engage them not to ſpare either their fortunes or their lives to ſecond us, if once we take them under our protection. By this means we ſhall have ſoldiers and money; and when we have once declared our ſelves, we may depend upon the aſſiſtance of the queen of *England*, and the proteſtant princes of *Germany*, whoſe intereſt will be common with the proteſtants of *France*. The *Germans* are very warm and zealous for their religion, as has been ſeen by experience in the wars which they have maintained againſt *Charles* V. at the expence of their own dominions, which ſome among them have loſt for this cauſe alone. Laſtly, we ſhall cover ourſelves from the reproaches which they throw upon us, of imbroiling the kingdom for our ambition, and out of the deſire of having a ſhare in the government and offices of D'Avila, l. 1.

A. D. 1559. the state. The war which we shall undertake will be grounded upon conscientious reasons and interests, and will be a religious war. This is the method we must take, if we resolve to have recourse to arms.

All these things, to the misfortune of *France* and the church, were but too well contrived: They had the general approbation of all the assembly, several of whom were already infected with the new errors. Secrecy was very much recommended, and they began from that time to take measures for the execution of the design. The prince of *Condé* was declared the head of the enterprize; but the *mute head*, as the historians of that time express themselves, because he was not to be named, nor appear to be concerned in it, till affairs were brought to a certain point. *Dandelot* and the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, were commissioned to act more immediately, to form the faction throughout the kingdom; an employ for which they were very proper, by reason of their intriguing genius and quarrelsome temper, provided that they could but sufficiently moderate both.

But before I unfold this famous intrigue any farther, I ought to give here a summary of the history of the heresy in *France*, that I may the better shew the progress it had already made, when this same year 1559, it was preparing to give those violent shocks to the kingdom which quite overturned it. I shall give an account of some incidents which happened in the preceding reigns, which were occasioned by the heresy, and most of which I have hitherto deferred relating on purpose, because they did not produce at that time any commotions, or very considerable events in the kingdom, and they would have too much interrupted the thread of the rest of the history.

Luther's heresy was a monster, which produced a great number of others; and it is natural that this should happen: For after an heresiarch has thrown off his obedience to the church, his disciples cannot make any more scruple to alter or correct his system of religion, than he did to invent a new one. Several doctors of *Germany* acted in this manner with regard to their master *Luther*; and *Calvin* thought he was still less obliged to submit to his decisions. He adopted some of them, and troubled himself but little about the rest.

But

But before *Calvin* began to dogmatize in *France*, the Lutherans had already made several attempts to spread their doctrine there. *A. D.* 1559.

The good reception which *Francis* I. gave learned men, brought several foreigners into *France*, some of whom being already infatuated with the new errors, taught them privately, and by their emissaries sowed the first seeds of heresy in the kingdom.

In the year 1523, a man of another character, whose name was *John le Clerc*, a carder of wooll at *Meaux*, had the impudence to call the pope antichrist in his conversation. Being convicted of this blasphemy, he was condemned to be whipped; and afterwards retiring to *Metz*, and having carried his confidence so far as to pull down the images of a chapel, he was burnt alive. He merited for this to be put by *Theodore Beza* in the number of the martyrs of the sect, and to bear the title of first founder of the Calvinist churches of *Meaux* and *Metz*.

William Briçonnet bishop of *Meaux* was cited upon this occasion by the parliament, where he justified himself, and behaved afterwards in such a manner as to remove all suspicion; but he had given ground to this trouble which he received, by employing about him, as persons well acquainted with learning, *James le Feure* a native of *Estaples* in *Picardy*, whom the faculty of *Paris* afterwards cut off from their body, by reason of his errors, *Arnald* and *Gerard Roussel*, who were likewise *Picards*, and *William Farel*, one of *Dauphiné*, all persons infected with ill doctrine. He sent them away as soon as he knew what they were; but that did not repair the mischief they had done in the diocese, and it was looked upon as certain, that *Meaux* was the first place in the kingdom where the heresy had dared to shew it self. Of so much consequence is it, and so much is it the duty and honour of prelates, to refuse their esteem and protection to those who are suspected in point of faith, whatever merit they may have in other respects. Claude Robert. in Gall. Christ. St. Marthe in Gall. Christ.

The taking of *Francis* I. at the battle of *Pavia*, in the year 1525, emboldened these innovators: But *Louisa of Savoy*, the king's mother, and regent of the kingdom, notwithstanding the troublesome affairs which she had upon her hands, did not neglect this.

A. D. 1559. The parliament of *Paris* passed some very severe arrets against those who should be taken seducing the people. It was by vertue of one of these arrets that *James Pavana*, a cloath-maker, a native of *Boulogne*, was condemned to be burned at *Paris*, for having dogmatized there. For it was such sort of people that *Luther* and his disciples employed in making their attempts upon *France*; and these contemptible names would not have any place in history, but to shew the first origin of the fatal contagion, which spread it self by little and little through all the parts of that great kingdom.

In the year 1528. *Francis* I. published some new edicts upon religion, at the sollicitations of cardinal *de Bourbon*; and by this prince's constant application to prevent the hereticks of *Germany* from creeping into *France*, it would have been preserved from the contagion, if hell had not raised within that kingdom, in the person of *Calvin*, as dangerous and seditious a spirit as *Luther* had been in *Germany*.

It was not till the year 1534, that he began to shew himself, having been already corrupted by *Melchior Volmard*, of whom he learned the *Greek* language. The refusal of a benefice which he was putting in for at * court, chagrined him, and determined him to make himself the head of a party. He had already begun his book *of Institutes*, which he finished afterwards, and which perverted a great many catholicks.

Calvin was born at *Noyon*. He had a great genius, and was well skilled in the sciences, especially in those which related to religion; as the learned languages, the scriptures, the fathers, and ecclesiastical history. He wrote politely, agreeably, and strongly; few doctors among the sectaries equalled him in these talents, which gave him great authority among them.

Papyrius Masso in vit. Calvin. Notwithstanding an indifferent state of health, he was indefatigable in study, composition, and the necessary labours for extending his sect. He had a very spiritual phisiognomy, a great deal of modesty, and appearing simplicity. A great frugality, which he ob-

* *This fact is related in a paper of president* Charton *printed by the sieur* Solier *in his history of the birth of Calvinism*, l. 1.

served

ſerved for the ſake of his health, did him abundance of honour, as well as the diſintereſtedneſs which he always affected. His skill in gaining and managing mens minds was extraordinary, and by that he ſeduced a great number of catholicks. He knew how to moderate his natural impetuoſity, and compaſs his deſigns. His private faults ſerved only to ſtrengthen his authority, by rendring him formidable; for he was cholerick, jealous in the buſineſs of reputation, and inclined to violent meaſures: But he took care to colour all this over with the ſpecious pretence of zeal for the purity of the goſpel. He was ſharp and biting in his writings, obſtinate in his opinions, moroſe, eſpecially towards the end of his life; and this gave ground to a kind of proverb which went about *Geneva*, *That it was better to be in hell with* Beza, *than in paradiſe with* Calvin. *A. D.* 1559.

Such was the author of the ſubverſion of religion in the kingdom of *France*. He made his eſcape from *Paris*, where the conſtable had given orders to ſeize him. He wandered ſome time in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, perverting ſeveral people: He went to the court of the dutcheſs of *Ferrara*, *Renée* of *France*, daughter of *Lewis* XII. who had a great value for him. He came afterwards to *Geneva*, and went from thence to *Strasbourg*. He was at laſt recalled to *Geneva*, where he fixed his reſidence; and it was from that city, as from the pontifical ſeat of the new ſect, that he afterwards ſent out his diſciples, to ſpread his doctrine by their means every where, and eſpecially in *France*.

The ſeverity of *Francis* I. did not let the ſectaries take much liberty in his reign; but how great ſoever his care was to prevent it, he could not hinder them from doing a great deal of miſchief in private; and when *Henry* II. aſcended the throne in 1547, there were already a great many perſons among the people, at court, among the clergy, and in the parliament of *Paris*, prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Calvin*'s books, and the new opinions.

When this hereſiarch heard of the death of *Francis* I. he hoped that the new reign would abate the rigour with which his diſciples were treated in *France*; but

A. D. 1559. he was deceived. The new king confirmed the former edicts, and published some others, even more severe. He confiscated the estates of those who retired to *Geneva*; and not only ordered all the tribunals, as well ecclesiastical as secular, to take care that it was executed, but likewise had the subaltern judges strictly observed, that they might not soften or give way.

Florimond de Raymond l. 8.

But when once heresy has got footing in a kingdom, it is almost impossible to root it out. It grows obstinate with rigorous methods; and if others are used, it abuses the condescension of princes and magistrates. The king's council and the parliament did not always agree upon this head. The parliament made remonstrances from time to time for abating the severity of these edicts. The ground of those remonstrances among the greatest part of those who composed that illustrious body, was wisdom, moderation, and zeal for the good of the kingdom; but they tended very much to the advantage of some other people, whom *Calvin*'s books had already brought over to his principles, and who some years after declared themselves.

The case was the same at court, where opinions were divided upon this head. The *Coligni*'s had delivered themselves up to this unhappy party, and supported it under hand; but it made no noise as yet; and it was not till after the fatal battle of *St. Quentin*, that the sectaries took their time to make an attempt, at which all *Paris* was surprized.

Hitherto they had not dared to hold assemblies, or at least they held them so privately, that they were not perceived. But eight or ten days after the taking of *St. Quentin*, they had a very numerous one in a house in *St. James's-street*, over-against the college of *Plessis*. There they celebrated their lord's supper, heard a sermon, and said their prayers according to the practice of the new reform. They were discovered, and the people of that part of the town being got together, fell upon them at the time they were coming out of the house very late in the night. There was one of them killed, several wounded, and an hundred and twenty taken, among whom were several ladies of quality, and even some of the queen's household. Some of both sexes were immediately tried,

tried, and some were condemned to the flames, others to the gallows. Among those whose punishment was put off, some abjured their heresy; the rest of the guilty were treated more mildly at the desire of the *German* princes and the *Swiss*, for whom they had occasion on account of the misfortune of the battle of *St. Quentin*, and who interceded for them, being engaged to do so by the sollicitations of *Calvin*, who wrote very pressing letters to them upon this subject. *A. D.* 1559.

Variæ Calvini epistolæ.

This first attempt of the Calvinists at *Paris* having succeeded so ill, they kept quiet for nine or ten months; but the next year, in the month of *August*, this capital saw a new scene, which gave the court more uneasiness than they cared to shew.

A great multitude of people being diverting themselves in the *Pre-Aux Clercs*, some Calvinists joined together, and began to sing psalms in *French* metre, translated by *Clement Marot*, a poet as famous for his nice and agreeable genius as for his libertinism. Thuanus, l. 14.

This novelty drew every body's curiosity and attention. People ran from all parts, and the choir encreased with a great number of voices which joined it; most of them understood no musick, and after having sung a good while, every one went home. This began again the next day, and was continued for some days together: What displeased the court more, was that the king and queen of *Navarre*, who were already very much suspected upon the article of religion, taking a walk that way, either on purpose, or by chance, seemed to be very much pleased at it. When it was seen that this continued, some plot was suspected: The singing was forbidden by the king under pain of death, and he was obeyed.

After all, *Henry* II. and his council, perceived very well by all these several motions, that the evil increased insensibly, and this was one of the motives which prevailed upon that prince to pass several articles in the treaty of *Cateau Cambresis*, to which, without that, he would not so easily have yielded. He had occasion for peace to provide an effectual remedy against these disorders; and as soon as it was signed, he directed all his attention that way.

A. D. 1559. The audacious answer which *Dandelot* made him about the mass, for which he was put in prison, as I have related, the behaviour of the king of *Navarre* and queen *Jane d'Albret*, who did not very much hide their inclinations for Calvinism, persuaded him that the court began to be corrupted, and he was informed that his parliament of *Paris* was not free from the infection.

This advice was given him not only by the princes of the house of *Guise*, but likewise by the first president *Gilles le Maitre*, who came with the presidents *John de St. André*, and *Anthony Minard*, and *Gilles Bourdin* attorney-general, to make remonstrances to him upon this subject, and advised him to make some notable, example that should frighten not only the people but the magistrates themselves.

The king, who was very much disposed, and also from this time, fully determined to do so, consulted with these magistrates and his council upon the method he should take. It was resolved, that in a little time he should go to the parliament, when it was assembled, without giving them any notice of it.

He went thither upon the fifteenth of *June*. He told them, that it was with grief he saw that after having given peace to *Europe*, his kingdom was in danger of being disturbed with differences in religion. He acquainted them with the resolution he had taken to provide an effectual remedy against it, and ordered them by the mouth of cardinal *Bertrandi*, lord keeper of the seals, to consider upon this affair.

Some counsellors spoke upon this subject with a great deal of freedom, or rather with extream confidence. Of this number were *Claude Viole* and *Lewis du Faur*, but he who spoke the most clearly and openly in favour of the new reformers, was *Ann du Bourg*, counsellor and clerc.

The king heard with as much patience as indignation these insolent speeches, but however with some joy at discovering the true sentiments of these factious people. The others for the most part spoke with much more temper and respect for the king's edicts.

edicts. The first president *le Maitre* spoke last, and with great strength against the sectaries. He shewed, that the king by punishing them with death, did but imitate his ancestors in their zeal for the catholick religion, and in particular *Philip Augustus*, who had used the *Albigenses* with much more rigour than the Calvinists were treated. *A. D.* 1559.

After he had ended his discourse, the king had the minute book brought to him, where the register had written down the suffrages of those who voted; and after having read them, he said, among other things, that he was already informed by the reports which went about, that in the parliament of *Paris* there were some people, tho' but a small number, who very much despised his authority and that of the pope, but that he was now convinced of it by his own experience, and exhorted the rest not to be carried away by so ill an example. Then turning towards the constable, he commanded him to seize upon *du Faur* and *du Bourg*. The order was executed immediately by *Gabriel de Montgomeri*, captain of the guards, who carried them to the *Bastille*. The counsellors *du Foix*, *Fumée*, and *de la Porte* were likewise confined in their houses. *Ferrier du Val* and *Viole*, to whom they would have done the same, made their escapes.

Soon after they went upon the trials of the counsellors who were seized. *Ann du Bourg*, as being the most guilty, because he had made publick profession of his heresy in the king's presence, was examined the first before the commissioners appointed for that purpose. He excepted against the court, saying, that as he was a counsellor of parliament, he ought to be tried by the houses assembled. They proceeded, notwithstanding this, and he was obliged to answer after having made his protestations.

When he was examined three days after upon his religion, he did not dissemble, but answered according to the principles of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* upon the articles in which these two hereticks agreed. His answers were so clear and open upon this head, that the bishop of *Paris* declared him convicted of heresy, ordered him to be degraded (for he was a priest, or at least a deacon) and delivered to the secular arm to be tried by a lay-court of justice. He appealed to the archbishop

A. D. 1559. biſhop of *Sens*, metropolitan of *Paris*, and it was during theſe proceedings, that the fatal death of *Henry* II. happened.

The news of it was received with as much joy by the proteſtants, as it gave grief to all the catholicks in the kingdom; for the former depended very much upon the weakneſs of the new reign, upon the factions which divided the court, and upon the powerful protectors which they had there. They renewed their aſſemblies, and preſented petitions to the queen mother; threatenings in ſeveral writings ſucceeded the petitions, and the effects followed the threatenings. Preſident *Minard*, one of the moſt zealous in the parliament, was aſſaſſinated and killed with a piſtol-ſhot near his own houſe. There were other ſuch-like conſpiracies againſt the firſt preſident *le Maitre* and preſident *St. André*, and every thing ſeemed to tend to a ſedition. Pepelin. l. 5.

But the *Guiſes* being become governors of affairs, were not confounded, but followed in the new reign the views which they had ſuggeſted to the late king, of puſhing the Calviniſts to the utmoſt. *Ann du Bourg* was condemned to die, and was hanged and burned in *la Place de Greve*, upon the twenty-firſt of *December*. But the other counſellors who were taken up, and had ſpoken with more caution, were part of them abſolved, and part ſuſpended from the exerciſe of their offices for ſome time.

It was during theſe diſturbances, which were preſages of the great misfortunes that were to come upon *France*, that the year 1559 ended, and 1560 began. The prince of *Condé* and the admiral could not wiſh for more favourable diſpoſitions for the execution of the deſigns they had formed in their council at *la Ferté*. I ſhall now relate the conſequences, and the ſucceſs of it. *A. D.* 1560.

Dandelot and the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, after having ſounded the Calviniſts, found them very ready to deliver themſelves up to them, becauſe they could think of nothing more frightful than their preſent condition. Theſe two lords opened themſelves to ſome gentlemen of the party, who had ſerved in the late wars, and whom they knew to be men of skill

skill and resolution: But above all they admitted into their most intimate secrecies one among them, in whom they discovered the requisite qualities for the good management of so hazardous an enterprize. *A. D.* 1560.

He was a gentleman of *Perigord*, whose name was *John du Barri* lord of *la Renaudie*, a cunning and valiant man, and one of those impetuous persons who give into every thing without troubling themselves about conscience or their reputation. Le Labourer's additions to the memoirs of Castelnau.

He was sent into *England* to engage queen *Elizabeth* to support the rebellion of the Calvinists. From thence he run over all *France*, where he assigned them their Heads in each province. Afterwards ten of the principal ones conferred at *Lyons*, and then went to *Nantes* with some others to take farther measures; and it was concluded, that the Heads should come from all the provinces with their troops into *Blesois* to *la Fredonniere*, the seat of the lord of that village, upon the sixth of *March*, to seize upon the king, who was then at *Blois* with the court, and assassinate the *Guises*. Belcar. l. 28. History of John le Frere. Popeliniere, l. 6.

They were to take their rout by different ways, in small companies, and to march in the night as much as possible. As soon as the soldiers of the several provinces were within reach of joining one another, a numerous company without arms was to go to *Blois* to present a petition to the king, to desire liberty of conscience; and as they expected that the petition would be rejected, the soldiers were to follow pretty near, to appear in arms about the town to attack it, to kill the cardinal of *Lorain* and the duke of *Guise*, and oblige the king to name the prince of *Condé* for his lieutenant-general, who was come to be near the king on purpose; and after the thing was executed in this manner, the prince being become prime minister of state, was, under pretence of restoring tranquillity to the kingdom, to grant the Calvinists churches, and every thing that they demanded.

The *Guises* were too much upon their guard, and had too many creatures in all parts of the kingdom not to be informed of all these motions. They received a great many advices of them from the provinces,

A. D. 1560. vinces, and even from foreign countries, and considered between themselves, and with the queen-mother, upon what was to be done at so dangerous a juncture.

The first thing that they did, was to leave *Blois*, and carry the king to the castle of *Amboise*, without however shewing any mistrust, but making the journey pass for a piece of diversion.

As soon as they were come to *Amboise*, the king declared the duke of *Guise* lieutenant-general of the kingdom: And the duke, to shew himself worthy of so high a post, in which his business was no less than saving the king's person, began to take all necessary precautions to make the enterprize of the conspirators miscarry.

These being come to *la Fredonniere* heard that the court was retired to *Amboise*, which made *la Renaudie* think that his designs were discovered; but being resolved to hazard all, he marched to that side: Being come to *la Carliere* three leagues from *Amboise*, he sent from thence, according to the first project, a great number of Calvinists to present their petition. He followed them pretty near with his troops; and when he knew that admittance was refused those whom he had sent without arms, he continued his march towards *Amboise*.

The duke of *Guise* had laid several ambuscades in the neighbouring woods. The count of *Sancerre* fell first upon the troops of *Bearn*, commanded by *Mazere* and *Raunay*, and charged them so briskly, that he defeated them, and took most of them.

The duke of *Nemours* with the like success surprized the baron of *Castelnau Chalosse*, who headed the troops of *Gascogne*, more numerous than those of *Bearn*, and took him prisoner, with the chief of his officers and many soldiers.

La Renaudie having taken his rout through by-ways in the woods, had avoided the ambuscades: But when he was ready to come out, and was very near *Amboise*, he was met by the sieur *de Pardaillan* who was his relation, and who fell upon him with a large body of cavalry. They fought, and the two generals ran against each other; but *Pardaillan*'s pistol missing fire, *la Renaudie* run him through with a sword.

Popelliniere, l. 6.

ſword. He himſelf almoſt at the ſame moment was mortally wounded with the ball of an arquebuſs, which a page of *Pardaillan*'s ſhot through his body. He had however ſtrength enough to kill this page with his own hand, before he died. The battle did not ceaſe by the death of the generals; but almoſt all thoſe of *la Renaudie*'s troop, after a good deal of reſiſtance, were killed upon the ſpot. *A. D.* 1560.

In theſe three skirmiſhes moſt of the gentlemen of the Calviniſt party were either killed or taken, and the ſoldiers diſperſed. There was none left of the principal heads but *Cocaville*, who did not come up till evening with the troops which he had raiſed in *Picardy*. He was one of the moſt reſolute and intrepid men in the world; and notwithſtanding the defeat of *la Renaudie* and the reſt of his party, he had the confidence to attack a fauxbourg of *Amboiſe*, depending upon the correſpondence he had with the caſtle, into which ſome gentlemen of the faction were gotten, in concert with the prince of *Condé* and *Maligni*. He was repulſed with great loſs, and retired with what ſoldiers he had left into ſome houſes, being reſolved to ſell his life dear, and if he could to prolong the fight till night, that he might eſcape by the favour of the darkneſs.

But they did not give him time for that; for the troops which had been purſuing thoſe that fled being returned, they inveſted him on all ſides; they ſet fire to the houſes, and he was burnt there, with almoſt all thoſe that had followed him.

This was the end, and this the ſucceſs of the famous conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, where the Calviniſts gave the firſt example of the fury which hereſy inſpires againſt lawful powers. It was at this time, according to moſt of our hiſtorians, that they began to be called huguenots; a name, which is referred to ſeveral originals, but they all ſeem to be very uncertain.

Though the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe* was happily diſſipated, the court was not free from uneaſineſs; for this enterprize was too clear a proof of the greatneſs and extent of the evil, and that all parts of the kingdom were infected with it. A great number of ſoldiers who were taken priſoners, were imme-

A. D. 1560. immediately hanged upon the battlements of the castle, or drowned in the *Loire:* But the queen-mother put a stop to this execution, upon the protestation which these wretches made, that they had been engaged by the huguenot ministers, without knowing whither they were carrying them, nor for what design they had listed them; and even an amnesty was published for all those who would lay down their arms.

Memoirs of Castelnau. Mauvissiere, l. 1. c. 8.

The pardon however did not extend to the heads who were taken. It was thought necessary to make an example of them, after having got out of them all the information that was hoped for to discover the whole secret of the plot. They were put to the question. All confessed, that their design was to get rid of the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal of *Lorain*. *La Bigne* secretary to *la Renaudie* added, that they would not have spared the king himself. He was pressed upon the article of the prince of *Condé*, whom the cardinal of *Lorain* had a great mind to prove guilty: But he only said that he had heard say, that if the conspirators should make themselves masters of *Amboise*, the prince would put himself at the head of them.

The queen-mother used her utmost endeavours to save the lives of some of the gentlemen who were guilty, especially *Castelnau Chalosse*, either out of a true principle of compassion, or out of policy, as many interpreted it, and to get the good will of the huguenots and the princes of the blood: But the king being prepossessed by the cardinal of *Lorain* and the duke of *Guise*, who had represented to him the necessity of making these examples, was inflexible upon that head.

In the mean while the prince of *Condé* was very uneasy himself at his fate; for upon the deposition of *la Bigne*, he had received orders not to go out of the castle. The king sent for him, and told him in great anger that the plotters had charged him very high, and threatned to have him tried. The prince without being moved or surprized, desired he might be brought upon his trial immediately.

The queen-mother, the *Guises*, and their confidents, were very uncertain which way to manage in

so

so nice an affair: They did not doubt but the prince of *Condé* and the *Coligni's* had enter'd into the conspiracy: But then the question was about a prince of the blood. The duke of *Guise* and the cardinal of *Lorain* were to take care to behave themselves with a great deal of circumspection. They might be sure if they destroyed the prince of *Condé*, those of his party would keep within bounds no longer; that the constable and the *Coligni's* would revenge it, and put themselves at the head of the Calvinist party; that the other princes of the blood would join them, under the specious pretence of saving the royal family; and that they should be in danger of seeing a general Insurrection in all the provinces of the kingdom. *A. D. 1560.*

These considerations made them resolve to dissemble. They took off the guards which had been put upon the prince of *Condé*, and left him at liberty to go to his brother the king of *Navarre* in *Berne*. He did not delay to make use of this permission, and to extricate himself out of the difficulties in which he found himself engaged. They wrote some obliging letters to the constable and the admiral, informing them of all that had happened, and assuring them of the confidence they had in them for the good of the realm and the service of the king. This prince wrote to the king of *Navarre* upon the same subject, and in the same stile; and indeed there was a great deal of probability, that he was not at all concerned in the conspiracy: But as they knew his easy temper, they were always apprehensive that he would suffer himself to be corrupted.

The admiral being invited to court, returned thither with his brother *Dandelot*, as soon as the prince of *Condé* was gone; for they took care not to be there together. The queen desired him to give her his counsel. He advised her to two things: The first, to put an end to the prosecutions against the Calvinists; and the second, to make herself sole mistress of affairs.

He could not make his court better to that princess, than by advising her to get all the authority of the government into her own hands. This was what she had always aimed at, and liberty of conscience would

A. D. 1560. would not, in all probability, have been any difficulty to her, if she had thought it would have promoted that design: But she saw very well, that by destroying the princes of the house of *Guise*, a thing which was not easy for her to do, she could not avoid having other associates with her in the government, whom she liked no better, that is, the constable and the admiral.

The *Guises*, who found their power so vigorously attacked, and who mistrusted the queen, resolved to give way a little; and when the king was at *Remorentin* in *Sologne*, they let him publish an edict, in which he put restrictions upon the former ones, and ordered punishment to be inflicted upon none of the Calvinists, but those who should be convicted of violence, sedition, and conventicling.

It is given by Popeliniere. l. 6.

The death of the chancellor *Oliver*, which happened at this time, brought another man into the council, who was as strongly inclined to moderate measures. It was *Michael de l'Hôpital*, whose genius, learning, reputation for prudence and integrity upon the bench, and the favour of the queen-mother, had just raised to the dignity of chancellor. He was son to the late constable *Charles* of *Bourbon*'s physician, and was very much prepossessed in favour of the new reformers: But that he might not spoil his fortune, he went to mass, which was at that time the most certain outward mark of catholicism.

By his advice they came to a resolution, to determine nothing of consequence upon the state of affairs, till an assembly met, which was to be held as soon as possible, and which had been projected in the time of chancellor *Oliver*. It was to consist of the princes of the blood, the principal lords, the ministers of state, the members of the council, and several bishops, who were to consider upon ways and means to restore tranquillity to the kingdom. It was this assembly which was called the assembly of *Notables*, and which was appointed to meet at *Fontainebleau* in *August*.

Popeliniere, l. 6. But while preparations were making for the holding of it, the huguenots gave themselves too great liberties by much. The first seditions appeared in *Dauphiny*, and especially at *Valence*, where the Calvinist party

party was mightily increaſed by the contrivance of the biſhop, *John de Montluc*, who, counterfeiting the catholick, that he might not loſe his biſhoprick, and the great intereſt he had at court, was in reality an huguenot. *A. D.* 1560.

The confidence of the hereticks was not leſs at *Romans* and *Montelimar*; and *Mouvans*, a brave and skilful officer, who was very much beloved in the country, took up arms, and thought to ſurprize the city of *Aix*. The catholick governors in theſe ſeveral provinces, oppoſed all theſe motions with vigour and prudence, and calmed them a little, partly by the mildneſs, and partly by the vigour with which they acted; and *Mouvans*, among others, was oblig'd to retire to *Geneva*.

Neither was *Normandy* free from diſturbances; and ſome Calviniſt miniſters had the confidence to preach publickly at *Roüen*, *Caën*, *St. Lo*, and *Dieppe*.

Beſides theſe domeſtick troubles, the court was very uneaſy at the affairs of *Scotland*, the crown of which being united to that of *France* in the perſon of the king and the young queen, was in great hazard of being loſt by the faction of the hereticks, who were prodigiouſly powerful there, and through the intrigues of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. This was a conſequence of the promiſe ſhe had given to the heads of the Calviniſts in *France*, to make a diverſion as ſoon as they had taken up arms.

She had already inveſted the port of *Leith* by ſea and land. The place was very valiantly defended by the lord of *Broſſe*: The king, in vain, did all that was in his power to diſſuade her from that enterprize. He was forced to come to a very diſhonourable treaty, though neceſſary for *France*. It was concluded at *Edenburgh*, upon the ſixth of *July*, by the biſhop of *Valence* and *Charles de la Roche-Faucaut*, lord of *Rendan*.

The principal articles were, that the proteſtants ſhould have liberty of conſcience in *Scotland*; that *Mary Stuart*, queen of *France* and *Scotland*, ſhould not for the future bear the arms of *England* in her eſcutcheon; that *Elizabeth* ſhould recal her armies, and that the *French* ſoldiers ſhould return into *France*, ex-

Cambden. *part* I. *of the hiſtory of* Elizabeth. Belcar. l. 28. *Collection of treaties by* Leonard, t. 2. D'Avila, t. 2.

A. D. 1560. except those of the garrison of *Dumbar* and *Iverkerth*.

In the mean while the king came to *Fontainebleau* well attended, and under pretence of the security of his person, a great number of troops were lodged in the neighbourhood. Some were sent into the provinces, with orders to the magistrates, to take care that the Calvinists did not get together in companies; and most of them did their duty. And now people were in great expectations, of what this assembly would produce; and the court likewise waited for a direct answer from the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé*, to the order, or rather the petition which the king had sent to them to come thither.

If the king of *Navarre* had followed the constable's advice, he had come, having nothing to fear as to the conspiracy of *Amboise*, in which he had not been concerned, and being to be well attended, and secure of being assisted by the retinue of the constable, who came at the head of eight hundred horse, under pretence, that on such an occasion he ought to make an appearance agreeable to the first office in the kingdom, with which he was dignified: But the prince of *Condé* persuaded the king of *Navarre*, that there was no security for him at court; and after a great many consultations at *Nerac*, where they lived, it was concluded, that he should not go.

The assembly was opened upon the twenty first of *August*. The king declared his intentions in a few words, and said in general, that the design for which he had called together the most considerable persons of his kingdom, was to put an end to the troubles with which it was disturbed, and to settle those things which should be thought to want reformation.

The queen-mother, and the chancellor, spoke more at large upon the same subject, and exhorted all the members of the assembly to deliver their thoughts with freedom, and without fear; that they were called together only for that purpose, and that his majesty was resolved to follow the advices which he should think the most wholesome.

Then the duke of *Guise* gave the assembly an account of the state of the troops which the king had in

in pay, and of every thing that related to the war. The cardinal of *Lorain* did the ſame as to the buſineſs of the finances. After theſe preliminaries, there was delivered to all thoſe who were to give their opinion a ſhort note of the principal articles upon which they were to debate in the next ſeſſion. Theſe articles were reduced to three: The firſt related to religion, the ſecond to the finances, and the third to the reeſtabliſhment of the obedience due to the ſovereign. *A. D.* 1560.

The ſecond ſeſſion, which was held two days after, was not ſo quiet as the firſt, and the admiral began with the boldeſt ſtroke imaginable. Before any thing was propoſed, he roſe out of his place, and coming up to the king, he preſented a writing to him, ſaying, ſo loud that he might be heard by every body, that it was a petition of thoſe who profeſſed the reformed religion; and that though it was not ſigned by any, there were in *Normandy* alone, of the ſtate of which his majeſty had ordered him to give him an account, at leaſt fifty thouſand perſons who would ſign it.

All thoſe who did not belong to his combination, were ſurprized at his confidence; but the king, whom the queen-mother had already well inſtructed in the art of diſſembling, received the petition graciouſly. It was read by *l' Aubeſpine*, the ſecretary of ſtate. The contents amounted to allow the Calviniſts liberty of conſcience, and leave to build churches.

The king ordered, that every one ſhould declare his opinion upon this head, according to his order: But the cardinal of *Lorain* giving way to his fire, and thinking that it was a ſhame that ſuch a propoſal ſhould be ſo much as hearkened to in the preſence of four cardinals and ſeveral biſhops, anſwered abruptly, inveighed againſt the petition, called it ſeditious, fooliſh, ſcandalous, heretical and impudent; and added, that ſince to intimidate the king they pretended they could get it ſigned by fifty thouſand factious people, he would anſwer for a million of ſubſtantial perſons in the kingdom, who were ready to oppoſe their inſolence, and make that obedience be paid to his majeſty which is due to him.

A. D. 1560. *Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*, gave his opinion first, as being the youngest counsellor of state, and preserved his character of a trimmer upon the point of religion; but he could not keep the middle way so exactly, but he appeared to be more an huguenot than a catholick. He said nothing about the regulation of the finances, which was one of the three points proposed, upon which to consider; but touched only upon what related to religion, and the obedience due to the sovereign. He proposed the calling of a national council, in which the doctors of the new sect should be allowed to offer their difficulties, and was of opinion that every one should be left at liberty to profess their own religion; but that with regard to the king's edicts, which forbad their assemblies, they ought to be executed, and those who disobeyed them, should be punished.

Charles de Marillac, archbishop of *Vienne*, was of *Montluc*'s opinion, with regard to the national council. He proposed the calling of the states, and that in the mean while the edicts against the factious should be executed: Others spoke, some in favour of the huguenots, and some against them.

The next day being the twenty fourth of *August*, the third session was held, in which the admiral spoke with the same confidence as when he presented the petition of the huguenots, and reduced his advice to three heads. The first was, to call the states general together, the second, to disband the new guard which was put upon the king, and which made him appear as if he was mistrustful of his subjects; the third, to suspend the edicts till the conclusion of a general or national council, and that in the mean time right should be done to the petition presented by the reformed.

Of all the members of the assembly, none bore this discourse with more impatience than the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal of *Lorain*, who had no complaisance shewed them in it, but in some places were openly mentioned.

When the duke of *Guise* spoke in his turn, what he said was not so much advice upon the affairs in hand as a refutation of the admiral's harangue, in which he spared him no more than that lord had spared him in his.

The

The cardinal of *Lorain* was a better master of his resentment; and it may be said, that upon this occasion the two brothers departed from their character; for the duke was naturally moderate, and the cardinal high and imperious. He said nothing that could strike upon the admiral directly, but he shewed the foolish boldness and insolence of the petition of the huguenots. He was not for a national council, because the tenets now in hand had already been decided. He added, that it was necessary to continue to act vigorously against the seditious; but he was not against agreeing that the Calvinists, who performed the duty of subjects, should be treated with less rigour than the others; and that as to the assembling of the states general, he thought it proper to be done. *A. D.* 1560.

Thus ended this session, in which the constable contented himself with letting the admiral take such bold steps, without declaring himself for either side.

The next day, the twenty fifth of *August*, the rest who had a right to vote, gave their suffrage without making any speeches, and all agreed with the cardinal of *Lorain*'s opinion. The king and queen thanked the assembly for the good advice and information they had given them. On the twenty sixth it was declared, that the states should be called to meet at *Meaux* upon the tenth of the following month; that in the mean while there should be no proceedings against the Calvinists, except those who should take up arms; and to this purpose circular letters were upon the last day of *August* dispatched all through the kingdom.

People were surprized at this consent of the king's for the assembling of the states, which they knew very well the admiral and his partisans desired, and which could not be agreeable to the court; but they had likewise their views in it, and hoped to get the prince of *Condé* thither, and seize upon him, or have him declared a rebel, if he refused to come.

The assembly of *Fontainebleau* was no sooner dismissed, but a great many secrets were discovered. One, whose name was *James de la Sague*, a *Biscayard*, an agent of the king of *Navarre*'s, was dis-

A. D. 1560. patched by the prince of *Condé*, and as he came along had seen the constable at *Chantilli*, and the *Vidame* of *Chartres* at *Paris*, and was come to *Fontainebleau* with letters from that prince to some of his friends. He indiscreetly told the true reason of his journey to an officer who was disgusted at the court, named *Bonval*, who discovered it to the duke of *Guise*. As he was returning, he was taken at *Estampes*, his papers seized, and he, being threatened with the question, confessed all.

They were informed by him of the preparations which were making for a general rebellion in all the provinces, of the names of those who were to be the heads of it, and several other particulars of the designs of the prince of *Condé*, who, if it had not been for this discovery, was going to bring about an entire subversion of the kingdom. This confession of *la Sague*, as well as his being taken, were kept very secret. They made use of the information he had given them to take care of every thing, and prevent this new blow. And all this was done with a great deal of expedition and management.

The prince of *Condé* finding that troops were coming into the provinces, and that *la Sague* did not return, made no doubt but he was taken, and that at least part of his designs were found out; and therefore, without deferring any longer, he resolved to execute the principal of them, which was to make himself master of *Lyons*.

His intention was to make that city a garrison town, and he could not have chose a more convenient one. It was rich and populous; there were a great number of Calvinists in it; it opened a large country to him, as well beyond as on this side of the *Rhône* and the *Saône*; it was near *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. He could easily receive assistance there from them in *Germany*; and supposing that in the sequel he should be too closely pressed, it would be very easy to get to the extremity of the kingdom in a short time, and make his escape.

History of John le Frere, l. 5. D'Avila, l. 2. &c.

He had held correspondence with some of the principal persons of the city, in concert with *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Spifame* bishop of *Nevers*, a huguenot refugee at *Geneva*; but as he had not thought proper to appear

appear in the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, neither would he act as head of this. Every thing was tranſacted immediately by the *Maligni's*, two brothers, who were his relations, and only confidents. Several huguenot officers were come thither with twelve hundred ſoldiers from divers parts, and ſeparately in different bodies. They knew one another by certain marks; and the thing had ſucceeded, if it had not been for the irreſolution of the king of *Navarre*, who had it put off for ſome days. *A. D.* 1560. Popeliniere, l. 6. *Memoirs of* Caſtelnau, l. 2. c. 9.

The abbot *d'Achon* commanded in the city for marſhal *de St. André* his uncle, who was governor of it. He had ſome information from the people in the country of the great number of ſoldiers which came from all parts; and he publiſhed with ſound of trumpet, that all ſtrangers muſt leave the town.

The *Maligni's*, knowing by this order the miſtruſt of the commanding officer, reſolved to ſtay no longer, but ſtrike their blow the next day, which was the ſixth of *September*; but the vigilance of the commanding officer, and the valour of the catholick citizens, diſconcerted them. They made themſelves maſters of the bridges over the *Rhône* and the *Saône*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the huguenots, beat them back, being ſupported very ſeaſonably by ſome troops, and obliged them to run out at the next port, which the commander had left open on purpoſe, for fear they ſhould deſpair of making their eſcapes, and entrench themſelves in ſome quarters of the town.

When they were driven out, the commander ſeized upon ſeveral citizens, hanged ſome of them, and ſent others to court under a ſtrong guard, who diſcovered a great many circumſtances of the conſpiracy, in which the prince of *Condé* was very nearly concerned.

This new conſpiracy ſerved only to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the princes of the houſe of *Guiſe*, to engage the catholicks of *France* more firmly to them, and to make the huguenots more and more odious. At the ſame time news came, that *la Mothe Gondrin* had diſperſed ſome troops of rebels who had *Montbrun* at their head; that he had obliged them to eſcape to *Switzerland*, and that no more Calviniſts appeared in the country. Every body applauded the wiſe con-

A. D. 1560. duct of the duke and the cardinal. The king, more prejudiced than ever in their favour, followed their advice blindly; and the queen-mother dissembling the jealousy she had conceived against them, acted in concert with them in every thing.

The assembly of the states, and the resolutions they would take, were the critical point, upon which depended the ruin or advancement of the two parties, which divided the kingdom, according as one or the other should prevail. The *Guises* had in this one advantage over their adversaries, which was, that they acted by the king's authority, which, though very much weakened by the factions, was still respected in the provinces, because their creatures had got the upper hand there.

They managed so well by this means, that none were chosen for deputies to the states but true and sincere catholicks. They sent for a great number of troops for the safety of the king, in which they were justified by the conspiracy of *Amboise*, and that of *Lyons:* And lastly, the cardinal and the duke got the place changed where the states were to meet, and it was declared that they should be held at *Orleans*.

There were several good reasons for this alteration. The principal was, that they knew *Jerom Groslet*, bailiff of *Orleans*, designed to deliver that city up to the Calvinists; and it was of the last importance to take from them all hopes of making themselves masters of a place which opens a communication between the two parts of *France* by the river *Loire*. The inhabitants were disarmed before the king came thither, and he made his entry upon the eighteenth of *October*.

He wrote a very pressing letter to the king of *Navarre*, in which he ordered him to come immediately to court, and bring the prince of *Condé* with him: The count of *Crussol* was the bearer of it, and marshal *de St. André* was likewise sent by the queen-mother, with a letter from her on the same subject. The prince of *Condé* could not bring himself to comply with it, and the king of *Navarre* was likewise very much unresolved upon it.

While he was in this uncertainty, the cardinal of *Bourbon* his brother, came and joined his sollicitations to

to thoſe of marſhal de *St. André*; and upon the new aſſurances which he gave him of the kindneſs the king expreſſed for him; upon the repreſentations which he made to him, that he had neither ſoldiers nor money with which to make any oppoſition, if they ſent any troops againſt him, as they intended to do; and laſtly, upon the conſideration of what he had to fear from the king of *Spain*, who had a good underſtanding with the court of *France*, he determined him to obey the orders he had received. The prince of *Condé* himſelf, though with much more difficulty, yielded likewiſe. There was nothing now to reſolve upon, but the number of perſons they ſhould take with them to the ſtates, and they deferred the determination of that till they ſhould be come to *Limoge*. *A. D.* 1560.

They were not very far from that town, when they were informed that marſhal *de Termes* was advancing with a conſiderable number of cavalry and infantry. And indeed he did come to them as it were to wait upon them out of reſpect; but they ſoon perceived that his deſign was to obſerve them, and prevent them from returning back; for as they advanced, he took care to make himſelf maſter of the places behind, by which they could make their eſcapes, and he never failed to do the ſame during all the reſt of the journey. D'Avila. 12.

They came to *Orleans* upon the laſt day of *October*. They were ſurprized to ſee that the city was guarded like a garriſon town. The ports were ſhut, and would not be opened to them, but they were forced to diſmount their horſes, and go in by the little door.

Then they repented more than ever that they had ſo imprudently engaged themſelves: They were conducted to the king's apartment, where they were very coldly received; and after a very ſhort conference, he carried them to the chamber of the queen-mother. She careſſed them mightily, and ſhewed them a great many civilities, putting on at the ſame time a ſorrowful countenance, and even ſhedding ſome tears: But the king interrupting them, addreſſed himſelf to the prince of *Condé*, and reproached him in pretty harſh terms, for that he having never received

any

A. D. 1560. any ill treatment at his hands, had ſtirred up his ſubjects againſt him, kindled a civil war in his kingdom, intended to ſurprize his principal towns, and even to make an attempt upon his perſon, and that of his brother.

The prince, without ſeeming ſurprized or aſtoniſhed, anſwered in a big manner, that it was his enemies who charged him with theſe calumnies, and that being ſure of his innocence, he was come himſelf to convince his majeſty of it. Well, replied the king, that the truth may be the better known, it muſt be ſought after in the uſual ways of juſtice. Then going out of the room without ſaying any thing more, he ordered *Chavigni*, one of the captains of his guards, to ſeize him; and he was immediately carried to a neighbouring houſe, where they had juſt been grating the windows and doubling the doors, and upon which a ſtrong guard was put.

The king of *Navarre* being extremely ſurprized at this treatment of his brother, was more ſo, when a minute after an order was brought to himſelf to follow the captain of the guards into another houſe, where, except that he had the liberty of ſpeaking to thoſe who came to wait upon him, he was really a priſoner. Afterwards he had leave to go out; but he was always well guarded.

At the ſame time they ſeized upon ſome officers and domeſticks of the two princes, and ſent into *Picardy* to take up madam *de Roye*, the prince of *Condé*'s mother-in-law, and the admiral's ſiſter. She, as well as the princeſs of *Condé* her daughter, was the moſt obſtinate huguenot in *France*. She was confined in the caſtle of *St. Germain en Laye*, and all her papers were ſeized.

D'Avila, l. 2. In the mean time the conſtable made no haſte to come to the ſtates, laying hold of a pretence of a fit of the gout, of which he had at times ſome attacks. The court, which was more apprehenſive of his preſence at the ſtates than deſirous of it, made as if they did not perceive all theſe contrivances: And in the mean while they ſent for witneſſes from all parts, eſpecially from *Lyons*, to depoſe againſt the prince of *Condé*, and they got all the papers together that could be of any uſe in preparing for his trial.

Com-

Commiſſioners were named for this purpoſe. He refuſed to anſwer, and demanded the privilege of being tried by the peers of *France* and the parliament of *Paris*, the proper judges of the princes of the blood. *A. D.* 1560.

This appeal being carried to the king, it was declared null by that prince in his privy council. Orders were given to the commiſſioners to proceed, and to declare the prince of *Condé* ſufficiently attainted and convicted by the charges which were produced againſt him, if he perſiſted in not anſwering.

He was therefore forced to do it; and the trial having been heard and laid before the king's council, to which were ſummoned eighteen knights of the order, ſome peers, preſidents, maſters of the requeſts, and counſellors of parliament, he was condemned to death by the plurality of voices.

The month of *November* was already pretty far advanced, and the ſentence ran, that the execution ſhould be performed at the opening of the ſtates, which were to meet upon the tenth of the following month. Every body was perſuaded, that the *Guiſes* deferred it only to involve the king of *Navarre* in the ſame misfortune, there not being at preſent ſufficient proofs to condemn him, and likewiſe to draw the conſtable into the ſnare, who was not as yet come up: But the ſickneſs which ſeized upon the king, threw them into the utmoſt perplexity.

This young prince had for a long time had an illneſs in his ear, which gave ground to apprehend an abſceſs in his head: One day, as his hair was cutting, he was violently attacked with it, and fell into a ſwoon, with ſuch bad ſymptoms, that his life began to be deſpaired of.

The conſtable upon this news ſet out for *Orleans*, but travelled ſlowly, receiving every day letters from his friends, giving him an account of the ſtate of the court, and the commotions which happened there.

They could not be greater than they were, upon the account of the alterations which the king's death muſt occaſion, if it happened, and which his great danger already cauſed, by the hopes of ſome, and the fears of others, for the ſtrange conſequences which it might produce.

The

A. D. 1560. The *Guises* finding themselves at the point of being thrown down from the great height they stood upon, and of being perhaps given up to the fury of their enemies, thought that they could not ward off so dangerous a blow, but by taking off the two princes before the king's death. They hoped in this case they should be strong enough to maintain themselves against the constable and the admiral, who were but private persons, and whose partisans were not equal in number to theirs. They went to wait upon the queen, and pressed her not to lose any time, but to have the sentence executed upon the prince of *Condé* without delay, and to join the king of *Navarre* with him, whose trial could be heard next day early in the morning. But she answered this discourse with nothing but tears, and desired them to give her some hours to consider upon it.

This princess was too politick to take so violent a resolution, or not to make all the advantage she could of the present juncture. She consulted chancellor *de l'Hopital*, who was her constant counsellor. He shewed her the consequences of such an enterprize; and as every thing that he said agreed perfectly with her private views, she declared to the cardinal of *Lorain* and the duke of *Guise*, that they must suspend the proceedings against the king of *Navarre*, and the execution of the sentence passed upon the prince of *Condé*: That as to them she would take care of their interests, and would manage in such manner for the good of the kingdom, and the friendships she had for them, that they should have nothing to fear from their enemies. These promises did not free them from their uneasiness; but they lay under a necessity of agreeing to her resolution.

In the mean while she sent the dutchess of *Montpensier*, and the prince dauphin of *Auvergne*, son of that princess, to the king of *Navarre*, to encourage him, and tell him, that provided he would come to an understanding with her, he should have nothing to fear, either for himself or his brother.

This prince, too happy in extricating himself at this price out of the danger he was in, tho' he placed no great confidence in the queen, sent her word that he would follow her will in every thing, and would never

ver forget the obligations he and his brother ſhould lie under to her for the protection ſhe gave them. *A. D.* 1560.

After this anſwer, ſhe ſent for him into her cloſet, and putting on the air of majeſty and authority which was natural to her, and which ſhe knew admirably well how to make a good uſe of upon neceſſary occaſions, ſhe told him that it was in her power to deſtroy both him and his brother; and that ſhe had in her cuſtody what would fully ſatisfy all the kingdom of the juſtice of their condemnation; but that out of the affection ſhe had always had for the princes of the blood, ſhe had endeavoured to put off the blow which would have cruſhed them.

This prince would have interrupted her to defend himſelf, but ſhe impoſed ſilence upon him, and told him that it was not proper for him when he ſpoke to her, who knew the bottom of every thing, to have recourſe to excuſes; that he ſhould rather acknowledge his fault, and by a ſincere confeſſion deſerve the favour ſhe intended to ſhew him; that ſhe required two things of him; the firſt, that he ſhould not diſpute the regency of the kingdom with her; the ſecond, that he and his brother ſhould be reconciled to the *Guiſes*, and that to ſhew how much ſhe had his ſatisfaction at heart, ſhe would have him declared captain-general of the kingdom.

The king of *Navarre* had no paſſion that counterbalanced the fear he was in of being ſacrificed with his brother. Ambition was not his vice; he was of another temper: The government of the kingdom would have been to him nothing but a burden, and the occaſion of trouble, which he naturally avoided; and therefore he took no time for conſideration, but gave the queen his renunciation in writing, to the right he might pretend to have to the regency.

The reconciliation with the *Guiſes*, put him to a greater difficulty; but out of regard to the queen, he conſented to perform the ceremony. The cardinal of *Lorain* and the duke of *Guiſe* were called immediately; and they embraced each other with that joy and ſeeming love and ſincerity, under which courtiers know how to cover the reſentments of the moſt cruel hatred.

From

A. D. 1560. From this moment there was great care taken on all sides to save appearances. There was nothing wanting to crown this great work, but the releasement of the prince of *Condé*: But the queen, who knew his violent temper, and who had been informed, that since the king's sickness a great number of huguenots were crept into *Orleans*, did not think proper to be in haste about it, and convinced the king of *Navarre* of the reasonableness of delaying it.

Things were in this condition when the king died upon the fifth of *December*, at five of the clock in the afternoon, being aged seventeen years, ten months, and fifteen days, after a reign of a year and an half. It was reported that his death was not a natural one, but that the surgeon had poisoned a fistula in his left ear; but this fact was not proved, and there is a good deal of probability that it was false.

In the short time that this prince lived, he was observed to be very pious, to have an aversion to debauchery, and to be of a good temper. He was generally reckoned not to have a very great genius; but after all, if we may judge of it by its consequences, his death was a great loss to the kingdom. The huguenots could not contain their joy. They published every where in their sermons and writings, that his death and that of the king his father were visible punishments of God's justice upon the persecutors of the pure gospel. This alone shewed what was to be expected from them under the new reign.

F I N I S.

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